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PPR's Konarski Addresses Vienna CSCE Session

LD230050 Warsaw PAP in English
1707 GMT 22 Apr 88

[By PAP Correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Vienna, April 22—Delegations of 35 European and North American states, taking part in the CSCE review meeting, held another plenary session here today.

Taking the floor, head of the Polish delegation Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski urged for solving the most difficult problems and for assistance to neutral and nonaligned countries in the working out of a compromise document which would crown the work of the Vienna meeting and could be accepted by all sides concerned. Only then will it be possible to end the Vienna meeting during this summer, which also is a condition for preventing the depreciation of the process of security and cooperation in Europe, he said.

The head of the Polish delegation also discussed the scope of problems tackled by 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states during their talks concerning the mandate of future negotiations on the reduction of military forces and conventional weapons in Europe. If the parties managed to find a solution which would make it possible to include in the future negotiations the double purpose weapons, then the successful conclusion of these talks could be expected within a few weeks, Konarski said. He also answered a number of questions from the participating journalists.

Speaks at News Conference

LD262221 Warsaw PAP in English
1950 GMT 26 Apr 88

[By PAP correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Vienna, April 26—Two press conferences related to the works of the 35 delegations from European countries, Canada and the U.S. which are taking part in the CSCE process were held at the Austria Press Centre here today.

Taking the floor during one of the conferences, Poland's Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski presented the stance of Polish delegation for the CSCE Vienna meeting and stressed that if the comprehensive draft document which is now being prepared by the neutral and non-aligned countries turns out to be an authentically balanced compromise, it may produce a breakthrough in the works of the CSCE Vienna meeting.

'Generals for Peace and Disarmament' Meet

LD262231 Warsaw PAP in English
2015 GMT 26 Apr 88

[By PAP correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Vienna, April 26—Three-day debates of the 5th meeting of retired generals and admirals from the Warsaw Treaty member states and NATO taking part in the works of the international group "Generals for Peace and Disarmament" started here today under the motto "War Against War".

On the first day of the debates, members of the Polish delegation, Retired Generals Marian Ryba and Rudolf Dzipanow distributed among participants the draft document concerning the meeting of the group of generals of the two military groupings held last November in Warsaw. The Warsaw meeting concerned "Determinants of Regarding Military Doctrines as Exclusively Defensive", as envisaged in the Jaruzelski Plan. The results of the two-day debate of the Warsaw meeting were included in the document which after the approval by the Vienna conference will be distributed among leading politicians and military commanders of the two alliances.

From informal talks with the participants of the present meeting one could learn that a proposal will be put forth for an international meeting of retired generals to be held in September of 1989 to mark the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two. The Polish delegation suggested then that the meeting be held in Poland.

U.S.-Soviet Military Exchanges Denounced

AU271035 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Apr 88 p 4

[Elmas Leci article: "The Superpowers Exchange or Coordinate Their Military Doctrines"]

[Text] Military relations have been and remain an important dimension of relations between the two superpowers, and the more comprehensive bilateral treaties multiply, the more stress is placed upon their military aspects. In this context, the importance placed on proposals to exchange military information between the superpowers is striking. In fact, it is the Soviet Union, or more specifically its most responsible military leaders, that originated this proposal, but the suggestion has awakened a response among many American military theorists and strategists. Without properly explaining how this exchange of information is to be carried out, or in what shape, or what it will lead to, both sides are now mounting a propaganda campaign as if performing this exchange will bring world peace in the military sphere to the entire world. "Soviet and American awareness of the military principles of the other side," the chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Army, Akhromeyev, writes in PRAVDA, "restrains aggression and strengthens defensive capacity." Various military specialists write in the American press that "the exchange of military information brings an element of pacification into the military sphere and into bilateral and international relations." Both sides, both the Americans and the Soviets, unite in their efforts to give the international public the impression that exchanging military information will be a great contribution toward reducing international tension and creating an atmosphere of peace throughout the globe.

Exchanging military information means that such information must include clauses, paragraphs, ideas, and goals that are unknown to the general public. However, both the Americans and the Soviets have hitherto publicized the defensive character of their military plans and have even claimed that they have published all the constituent elements of their military principles. If military plans have been published and are already well known, then why is there any need to exchange them officially, and why is it so important to create a new institution for Soviet-American discussions? It becomes obvious that exchanging military information does not mean merely a mutual knowledge of each other's military principles, tactics, and strategy, but involves the entire network of relations and the global strategy of the U.S.A. and the USSR.

The exchange of military information between the superpowers is not and cannot be an exchange of theoretical military handbooks. It concentrates mainly upon coordinating the superpowers' military activity throughout the world. This coordination of military activity is extremely extensive and concerns the whole gamut of military problems which American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have been discussing for decades. These have included bilateral talks and agreements about different sorts of weapons, talks about solving regional conflicts, the deployment of troops and warships in various areas of the globe, the arms trade, and so forth. The United States and the Soviet Union have embarked on bilateral talks on all these topics.

Exchanging military information is thus evidently part of the aim to preserve zones of influence, something which is currently in the interest of both sides. Moreover, consultations on the tactical thinking involved in military plans give both sides the opportunity to discuss the nonviolation of the parameters laid down for the operation of their fleets in seas and oceans and the conduct of maneuvers without violating the borders of each other's spheres of influence. The exchange of military information also involves measures to preserve military equilibrium, which both sides propagandize as a way of preserving peace. This is how this idea is expressed in the military principles of the Warsaw Pact: "Military and strategic parity remains the decisive factor in preventing war." The same idea is expressed in other words in NATO's principles: "Let us preserve what we have achieved." So, ensuring strategic balance between the two superpowers and their military blocs, which is in fact an illusion which the United States and the USSR strive to impose upon the peoples, is publicized as a form of protection and guarantee. Facts and events show that this balance is daily becoming an enormous imbalance. At a time when the trumpets are sounding the fanfare of disarmament, Europe is being filled with other tactical weapons and missiles of various kinds and functions, increasing firepower by 10 to 12 percent, not by the 3 to 4 percent that will be lost because of the withdrawal of Euromissiles.

The purpose of the exchange of Soviet and American military information is expressed very clearly in the statement of the Soviet defense minister, Dmitriy Yazov, which was issued a few days ago by TASS, and in which he stressed that by exchanging information "We (the Soviets) and the Americans will discuss the problem of preventing incidents between armed forces." So, the aim of the two superpowers is to coordinate ideas and viewpoints and to determine an "reasonable sufficiency" which will maintain a balance between their destructive military forces, so that the stocks of weaponry and human resources on both sides will be equal, in order to be able to dictate to other countries and peoples, and to be able to hold bargaining sessions to divide and redivide zones of influence without the outbreak of a war which would lead to mutual destruction and annihilation. In short, their aim in exchanging military information is neither to preserve peace, nor to eliminate weapons, nor to put an end to wars. Their true aim is to parcel out spheres of influence between the two superpowers, to temporarily remove conflicts between them, to preserve the status quo, and to jointly dominate the world.

Trade Agreement Signed With Bangladesh

AU260939 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Tirana, April 26 (ATA)—The trade agreement between the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Government of the PR of Bangladesh for the 1988-1992 period and the protocol between the Ministry of Foreign Trade of Albania and the Trade Ministry of Bangladesh for 1988 was signed in Tirana on April 25.

For the Albanian side the agreement and protocol were signed by the vice minister of foreign trade, Kostandin Hoxha, and for the Bangladesh side by the vice secretary of trade ministry, Abdul Jalil Khan.

On the basis of the protocol our country will export to the PR of Bangladesh cement, pig iron, refractory bricks, chemicals, etc., and will import from it nylon and viscous yarn, non-processed leather, polyethylene sheets, raw materials, etc.

Likewise, a bank agreement was signed by the bank representatives of the two countries.

Lukanov Meets With Officials in Washington

AU261136 Sofia BTA in English
1017 GMT 26 Apr 88

["Business and Fruitful Meetings"—BTA headline]

[Text] Washington, April 26 (BTA corr.)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, who is on visit here at the invitation of the U.S. Administration, had a meeting with Mr William Verity, U.S. secretary of commerce. They exchanged opinions on the development of the business relations and found that because of a number of reasons they have been in a standstill. But regardless of this fact it was noted that there are conditions and opportunities for a way out of this situation, and willingness was expressed for a more dynamic development of the contacts, which should be placed on a more sound and realistic basis in compliance with the interests of the two countries. The two sides discussed certain ideas for the broadening and activation of the traditional trade, as well as for the search and application of some new forms of economic cooperation, and more concretely on the establishment of joint societies and companies. Both sides expressed readiness to undertake practical measures on a governmental level for encouragement of the business circles in the establishing of contacts for widening of the cooperation and for support of the activity of the Bulgaro-American Trade Economic Council.

In response to the interest of the U.S. secretary Mr Andrey Lukanov acquainted him with the restructuring process and the socioeconomic changes underway in Bulgaria, which create conditions and incentives for widening of the economic relations.

The talks passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

The host gave official lunch in honour of the Bulgarian guest and the officials accompanying him.

Later on Mr Andrey Lukanov had other business meetings. He had talks with Mr Richard Lesher, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., and with other representatives of its board.

Mr Andrey Lukanov visited the National Press Club in Washington where he gave a press conference. It was attended by representatives of influential dailies, specialized economic editions and foreign correspondents.

Talks With Shultz

AU271034 Sofia BTA in English
0935 GMT 27 Apr 88

["Possibilities for Promoting Bulgaro-American Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Washington, April 27 (BTA corr.)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, who is visiting here at the invitation of the U.S. Government, met Secretary of State George Shultz. The meeting passed in a businesslike and constructive spirit.

During the talks Mr Andrey Lukanov delivered through Mr George Shultz a message from State Council President Todor Zhivkov to President Ronald Reagan. The message stresses that Bulgaria wishes to normalize and promote her relations with the U.S. on the basis of a balance of interests and their mutual respect.

The secretary of state received the message with satisfaction and pointed out that the U.S. also wishes to improve its relations with Bulgaria.

Mr Andrey Lukanov acquainted Mr George Shultz with the process of socioeconomic restructuring in Bulgaria pointing out the possibilities it creates for promoting the foreign economic relations of this country.

Mr George Shultz listened with interest and expressed the opinion that the implementation of the measures which have been mapped out will raise the economic potential and increase Bulgaria's possibilities for international economic exchange.

Exchanging opinions on the state of Bulgaro-American relations, the two sides discussed a number of concrete steps which could be taken for making fuller use of the emerging real possibilities for activating the dialogue and exchange in the political, economic, technological, scientific and cultural spheres.

The Bulgarian guest also had talks with Mr John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state. The meetings at the State Department were attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Lyuben Gotsev.

Further on Visit of CPCZ's Milos Jakes

Politburo Assessment of Talks

AU262014 Sofia BTA in English
1926 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC of the BCP was informed of the friendly working visit which Mr Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, paid to Bulgaria on April 20, 1988. The Politburo gave a high assessment to the talks between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Milos Jakes, which took place in a friendly atmosphere and in the spirit of complete understanding and unanimity on all issues discussed, an announcement handed in for publication here today reads. The agreements which were reached are a fresh impetus to the further promotion of the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the two parties and states.

A positive assessment was also given to the coincidence in the aims and principles of the restructuring under way in both countries in the social and economic spheres and to the complete unanimity on the most important issues

of the international situation. The two fraternal countries stressed the paramount importance of the restructuring under way in the USSR and stressed their unreserved support for the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and of the other Warsaw Treaty member states, the announcement reads.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP approved the agreements which were reached and assigned the competent party and state bodies and economic organizations to take concrete measures for the further promotion of the friendship and all-round cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

Correction to Communique

The following correction pertains to the item subheaded "Communique Published," published in the 25 April East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 3:

Page 4, column one, paragraph one, only sentence make read: ...Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, made a friendly working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria on 20 April 1988. (deleting "official," adding "working" and "the People's Republic of")

Same page, same column, paragraph five, last sentence make read: ...joint enterprises and scientific and planning-design collectives. (adding "scientific and")

Comparison: Communique in CSSR Daily

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 April carries on page 1 a 1,200-word "joint communique" on the visit paid by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria on 20 April. Comparison with the item subheaded "Communique Published" published in the 25 April East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 3 shows the two versions to be identical, except for the sequence of names and states (M. Jakes before T. Zhivkov, and CSSR before People's Republic of Bulgaria), and the following additions and variations:

Page 4, column one, paragraph one, only sentence make read: ...CPCZ Central Committee, made a friendly working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.... (adding "the "People's Republic of")

Same page, same column, paragraph three, last sentence, make read: ...Ninth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The two party leaders.... (deleting date)

Same page, same column, paragraph four, last sentence make read: ...created by the Treaty on Friendship.... (deleting "first")

Same page, same column, paragraph five, last sentence, make read: ...of joint enterprises and scientific and planning-design collectives.

During the talks a discussion was also held on cooperation in other fields. (adding "scientific and" and substituting "cooperation" for "issues")

Same page, column two, paragraph four, first sentence make read: ...Warsaw Pact and NATO states, with the aim of further developing the pan-European process. (substituting "pan-" for "common")

Same page, same column, last paragraph, first sentence make read: ...for further strengthening the international communist and workers movement and spoke in favor of further consolidating its unity of action in the interest of peace.... (rewording)

Page 5, column one, paragraph one, first sentence make read: ...understanding and unity of views on all the issues discussed.... (adding "of views")

Atanasov Attends Afghan National Day Reception

AU261958 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] This evening Mehrabuddin Paktiawal, Afghan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, gave a reception at the Afghan Embassy in Sofia to mark his country's national day.

The reception was attended by Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Petur Tanchev, and Vasil Tsanov; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; ministers; leaders of socioeconomic and mass organizations; and cultural and arts figures.

Zhivkov Receives FRG Writer Erwin Fischer

AU221300 Sofia BTA in English 1140 GMT 22 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 22 (BTA)—Today State council President Todor Zhivkov received the writer of the FRG Erwin Fischer.

At the meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, Mr Todor Zhivkov acquainted his guest with the processes of innovation taking place in Bulgaria in all spheres of life. He stressed the role of the Bulgarian writers in the realization of the great tasks facing the Bulgarian people.

Festive Meeting Marks 118th Lenin Anniversary

AU211410 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1357 GMT on 21 April begins a live relay of a festive meeting held in Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall to mark the 118th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

At 1403 the festive meeting is officially opened by Vasil Tsurvenkov, secretary of Sofia City BCP Committee. Tsurvenkov introduces Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, who begins the main address at 1404 GMT.

Leaders in Attendance

AU250917 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Apr 88 p 1

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On 21 April at a festive meeting in Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall Sofia's public paid tribute to the immortal cause of Lenin. The meeting was attended by representatives of labor, scientific, and creative collectives; public and cultural figures; veterans of the revolutionary struggles; activists of the movement on Bulgarian-USSR friendship; students; and Comrades Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, and Vasil Tsanov.

Vladimir Ivanisov, charge d'affaires at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, also attended the meeting. [passage omitted]

Yordanov Speech

AU261040 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Apr 88 p 2

[Speech by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, at festive meeting to mark the 118th anniversary of Lenin's birth, in Sofia]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, we are celebrating the 118th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin by pointing out again and again, with a feeling of immeasurable gratitude, his historic achievements. As the brilliant successor who developed the revolutionary science on the socialist transformation of the world founded by Marx and Engels, he understood that this science is all-powerful because it is truthful.

This evaluation fully applies to Leninism as well. Lenin's ideas about Marxist philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism are of inestimable methodological importance. They combine in organic unity the requirement to defend the principles of Marxism with the vital need to constantly develop them. As the immortal leader of the revolution said, the Communist must take into consideration life itself and the exact facts of reality, instead of sticking to yesterday's theory.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin brilliantly coordinated the flexible and infallible tactical solutions and the most correct approaches and methods of work with the party's strategic goal. All his life and activities were inspired by innovation, by consistency based on principle, and by political realism.

It was Lenin's historical merit to have created and strengthened the revolutionary, Marxist vanguard of the workers class. The party of Bolsheviks which he educated and led organized and inspired the working people's struggle against the totalitarian, exploiting regime of capitalism. The October victory, which opened up a new era in the history of mankind was a triumph of Leninism. Only a brilliant thinker and revolutionary like Lenin could foresee from the chaos of events the exact moment at which the uprising would be victorious and his forecast became reality. The stormy attack of workers and peasants shook the vast Russian empire. It amazed the world.

This northern light illuminated and inspired millions of working people on our planet with hope, the centuries-old struggle for freedom and justice already had its place on the earth, its bright horizon.

The short and extremely dynamic period in the life and work of the first chairman of the people's commissars' council is amazing for its colossal energy, strong will, and optimism.

Lenin earned invaluable credit for establishing the first socialist state, for guaranteeing its defense against the counterrevolution within the country and against international, imperialist intervention.

Within just a few years, the unshakable foundations of a socialist social system were laid down. In promoting the new economic policy, the NEP, Lenin proposed ideas and forms which still preserve their meaning and importance to this day. The people's unleashed energies emerged on the scene of history. Having embodied the creative spirit of the masses, Leninism became an invincible constructive force.

The Soviet people, educated in the spirit of Leninist confidence, endurance, and self-sacrifice liberated numerous countries and rescued mankind from Hitler's fascism.

Today, the USSR is a powerful industrial state, with a tremendous economic and scientific-technical potential. The care for material well-being, for education, for the capacity of creative self-implementation, for the moral and physical health of the Soviet people is the goal of party and state policy in the USSR. Soviet science and culture have made an invaluable contribution to human civilization.

With its consistent and constructive foreign policy, the USSR is a reliable support of peace.

Comrades, Lenin prophetically warned that in building a new world it will be necessary to perfect the political structure and the democratic spirit of society, constantly to enhance the leading role of the Communist Party.

Revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union which began with the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is a remarkable manifestation of Leninist principles and traditions.

Our party and all Bulgarian people have expressed their great interest and satisfaction with the beneficial, innovative processes in the glorious Soviet country. We wholeheartedly support the Leninist policy of the CPSU Central Committee which opens up the best prospects for world socialism and for peace on the earth.

Being ideologically-politically and theoretically founded at the 27th CPSU Congress and laid down in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the restructuring process is in conformity with the objective requirement to fully reveal and embody the immense opportunities, advantages, and force of attraction of the most humanitarian system.

The law on socialist enterprises, the development of cooperatives, the new approach to planning and self-sufficiency, and all other progressive changes in economic life are based on the discovery of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism that social property should merge with the system of material and intellectual interests and with scientific-technical progress.

The spirit of enterprise and the creativity of the working people have been stimulated, communist awareness has been intensified. The innovative approach in national economic management is overcoming the rejected bureaucratic and administrative methods, it is promoting democracy, and it is promoting efficiency and quality in social production.

Strict discipline, selfless efforts, new technologies, responsibility, leading toward socialism and a peaceful future characterize the irreversible process of unprecedented creative force in Lenin's homeland.

In an atmosphere of [word indistinct], of direct participation in multifarious democratic forms of power, the citizens of the Soviet Union are mastering the ability to independently create their new life. Lenin's forecast that for the first time in the history of civilized society the broad people's masses are arising to directly participate in ruling their own state is being implemented with irresistible force.

The CPSU is the organizer and source of inspiration of innovation, and this applies to its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [applause]

The dynamic progress of restructuring processes in the Soviet Union convincingly shows that these processes are the vital cause of the people, that they are irreversible. However, it is indicative, that the political will of the CPSU to promote new main trends of progress and peaceful cooperation evokes sympathy and approval among broad social strata throughout the globe.

Comrades, Bulgaria is one of the countries in which the Leninist ideas have produced fruitful results. The victories of our party and people, the struggle against fascism and capitalism, the construction of socialist society were achieved on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In Lenin's appeal for revolutionary action, the BCP heard and saw the request of the epoch and chose the only correct path—the path of October Revolution.

We are proud of the fact that the left-wing socialists in Bulgaria, enthusiastically welcomed and totally supported their Russian class brothers and became the co-founders of the Third Communist International.

Founded and educated by Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, his worthy disciple and successor, the BCP developed as an universally recognized and tested political vanguard of the workers class and the people. A factor of decisive change in our party's Leninization process was the first antifascist uprising in the world: the legendary struggle of 1923. The party rallied the revolutionary, patriotic forces in the hard antifascist struggle that was crowned by victory in the socialist revolution on 9 September 1944 which was achieved with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army.

In creatively applying Marxist-Leninist theory, as well as the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, under the specific historical conditions existing in our country, the BCP began to build the foundations of socialist society.

The historic April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, which took place in 1956, was a remarkable demonstration of our party's revolutionary, creative spirit. Combining the assets of the party's collective mind and its original, national contribution with its internationalist spirit, the April Plenum line became the vital cause of all Bulgarian people.

Permeated by a Leninist, revolutionary, innovative spirit the BCP rejected the outdated and stagnating, dogmatic way of thinking, and the personality cult. The party's consistent policy today is care for man, for his happiness, well-being and all-round development.

The April Plenum achievements of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in economic and social life represent a climax in the 13 centuries-old history of our state.

The material and intellectual prosperity of our people is constantly growing, the stormy cultural progress of our country is comprehensive and irreversible. The example and contribution of the motherland, the theoretical and practical experience of socialist construction convincingly confirm the necessity of a dialectical interaction between the common national laws and the national peculiarities of the different countries.

With profound satisfaction we point out that the April line of the BCP is inspired by the scientific foresight, the revolutionary elan, and the innovative approach of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. [applause] He is heading the work and struggle for a qualitatively new growth of revolutionary restructuring in our society.

Since the 13th BCP Congress our country has been engaged in a large-scale, transforming activity. These efforts culminated in the adoption of the Concept on the Further Construction of Socialism in Bulgaria, which was approved by the BCP Central Committee July plenum in 1987.

The BCP National Conference became an open, nationwide tribune which confirmed the scientific concept and equipped the party and the working people with an extensive, comprehensive program for constructive work to achieve a new, qualitative growth of our motherland.

It is necessary to stress that the solid foundations of restructuring in our country, the foundations of our achievements are based on the Leninist April policy. The BCP is the promoter and organizer of innovation, the guarantor of its success. The party itself is restructuring, and in doing so, sets an example for the state, for the social organizations.

As always in the past, in implementing the new tasks, the BCP and the CPSU are showing and proving with practical deeds their unanimity of thought and unity of action.

At the meeting between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Mikhail Gorbachev in September 1987 it was stressed that a "basic concurrence exists between the goals and tasks of restructuring in the two fraternal countries, despite the existence of peculiar features—such as those pertaining to the scope and pace of the changes, to the forms and methods of achieving them." The vital strength of profound innovative processes lies in their scientific character, in their objective mutual interaction.

Revolution remains alive when it overcomes its own shortcomings and mistakes, when it is not afraid of criticism and self-criticism. It is known that the development of social production means is a decisive factor in the construction of socialism, that the application of contemporary science and technology is "our daily bread."

The decisions of our BCP National Conference devoted considerable space to the change that should be implemented in order to achieve a qualitatively new level of productive forces and production relations. The great efficiency in managing socialist property—state property, cooperative, and municipal property—as well as all of the work of social organizations represents a great asset for the country's comprehensive progress.

The bureaucratic and centralized methods in planning and management of the national economy are being boldly rejected. The center of gravity is shifting to the millions of working people, their initiative is strengthening and they are becoming more self-confident in their awareness of being creators and managers of material and intellectual assets.

We are entering a stage of exceptionally great importance. The objects of socialist property are being placed under the management and administration of the workers' collectives. Having been legally confirmed by the National Assembly Declaration of 1987, this particular act is of great social, economic, and ideological-political significance, because great rights and obligations are being entrusted to the direct producers of goods, to the broad people's masses.

Today commodity-money relations are assuming great importance in the socialist national economy. In assessing this role, the Code for Economic Activities enhances the prestige of the working people and the self-managing organizations. Under the new conditions, the economic management and organizational functions of the socialist state are being enhanced by productive forms and restructuring in the economic sector creates a whole system of material and moral incentives for the development of production, for distribution according to the quantity and quality of work.

In this respect particular importance is attached to piece work wages and to the wages schedule based on hourly rates. There must be a struggle against leveling, which underrates the great achievements and personal merits of the workers and encourages irresponsibility, indifference, passiveness and a lack of creativity.

For Lenin revolution was not only the act of overcoming the old ways. The elimination of the system of exploitation, of its state and laws, revealed the most extensive dimensions of free labor. Socialist society is the realm of creativity. The thinking of the proletarian leader always searched for coordination between material and intellectual assets. The first he regarded as the basis for development and the second as the meaning and goal of development. Lenin always devoted personal attention and care to the ideological front. As a creative member of the new world, Lenin understood the value and importance of talent, its role as a motive force in promoting the sacred aspirations of the Soviet people for the intellectual and moral elevation of the individual.

We can state with satisfaction that this testament of Lenin's is being realized in the cultural policy of the BCP, which was determined by the April Plenum, in creating contemporary progress in our motherland.

The confidence and care of the party, the favorable conditions and the support of society are ensuring most favorable conditions for the development of science, education, and sports.

The centuries-old traditions of our people and the intellectual assets of socialism have transformed Bulgaria into an active element in international cultural cooperation.

The strong unity between the people and the intelligentsia, its ideological-political cohesion around the party policy is one of our valuable assets. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared, today, in the period of restructuring, when everyone is striving for the progress of science, culture, and high qualifications, the intelligentsia remains loyal to its tasks. However, confidence means responsibilities, and not only responsibility in word, but in deed.

Life marches inexorably forward. Any signs of self-complacency and an uncritical attitude toward negative phenomena are likely to cause stagnation and harm. Restructuring in the intellectual sphere is an urgent necessity. It is now necessary for man to develop as a universally educated personality, for the human factor to become a decisive prerequisite for the country's revolutionary innovation. It is necessary to expand self-management and democracy, to create an effective structure for organizations that have an ideal goal.

The cultural treasures of world and national civilization should be propagated among the broad social strata; they should reach the most remote settlements, reach every home, and every labor collective. This is because culture in everyday life and civilized standards of production are indivisible.

The natural sciences, technical, and social sciences are called upon to make a useful contribution to the development of socialist practice, to the socialist way of life, and to comprehensively reveal the laws and contradictions, the methods and the paths of development. Enriched in content, permeated by the requirement for analytical and comprehensive knowledge, the educational process must fully conform to the dynamic pace of life and to the challenges of the next century.

Man's role is emerging at the center of the innovative processes. The models of the ethical norms under which we and the future generations must live are becoming increasingly demanding. The quality of the intellectual potential and the standards of professionalism are particularly important preconditions for social progress.

Democratization, the transition from power in the name of the people to power through the people, and glasnost are at the core of restructuring. Lenin asked with justification: "Is there any way of teaching people to govern themselves and protect them from mistakes, other than the way of practical experience, than by proceeding, without delay, to self-government?" (Lenin's collected works, volume 34, page 309)

It is well known that popular power and self-management are an organic synthesis of liberty and of the need for rights and obligations. It is particularly important to influence processes through persuasion, through experience which speaks for itself, and through authority which has been proven in practice; it is important to build solely on the basis of class principles, combining the people's merits. Lenin pointed out that the bureaucratic approach and petty, servile indifference clothed in a state uniform are the highest form of dogmatism, and represent an antirevolutionary phenomenon.

This is why the people in our country welcome and approve the measures adopted in our country for the up-to-date organization and higher standards of management; because drastic cuts in the administrative apparatus have met with the people's approval. The work of the oblasts, self-managing communities, the commodity producers' organizations, and the government organs confirms the efficiency and expediency of these initiatives. Associations and banks of a new type are already expanding their activities, and restructuring is under way in the sectors of agriculture, trade, services, and cooperatives.

The energetic political activities which characterized the proceedings during the elections for oblast and municipal people's councils, mayors, and for township councillors is well known. For the first time, two and more candidates were nominated for one seat. It is evident that things that have accumulated over the years, stereotypes, and prejudices which have halted social progress are being resolutely overcome.

In freeing itself of inappropriate tasks, the BCP is steadily improving its activities and asserts its indispensable role as the tested, unique vanguard of the people.

As a strike force and a decisive factor for restructuring, the party represents the chief guarantee for its success.

We are full of confidence that innovation will intensify our country's comprehensive progress. Under the new conditions, high rates and indexes are being achieved in economic development and in the social sphere.

At the 13th Congress it was assessed that our national income increased at a mean annual rate of 5.5 percent, and this is entirely the result of increased social labor productivity.

The contemporary production branches, such as electronics, the biotechnological industry, robotics, machine building industry, chemical industry, and others mark the most stable and dynamic progress.

Production for the market is being substantially renewed and its quality is gradually improving. The positive changes in our entire life, which still does not correspond to the real internal opportunities, are the results of the people's constructive efforts, of the efficient measures adopted by the party and state.

The work and initiative of the fraternal Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian Trade Unions and Komsomol are exerting a beneficial effect. The new economic regulators and incentives are having a beneficial influence. They enhance the role of the self-managing organizations and labor collectives. It has become possible to raise the wages of scientific workers, artistic and creative cadres, and journalists. New starting salaries are gradually being introduced for teachers, medical doctors, and those who work in other branches. These are great social assets of incontestable moral, political, ideological, and economic significance.

With the awareness of having fulfilled one's duty toward the workers class and the people, toward the international communist and workers movement, toward peace in the world. The BCP is implementing its historic deeds with the strategic aim of establishing Bulgaria as a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

We are firmly resolved to overcome the inevitable difficulties and implement Lenin's testaments in real life, because for the Bulgarian people the brilliant strategist of the October Revolution is the eternal example in the struggle for more democracy and more socialism. [applause]

Comrades, in our contradictory epoch of radical change, the historical importance of Lenin's ideas on the foreign policy of the socialist state, peaceful coexistence, and international solidarity are emerging even more forcefully.

These are the sources of the new political thinking, of the philosophy and practice of peace that are being implemented with remarkable energy by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

The program adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress for an all-embracing system of peace and international security is a broad platform for humanitarian activities.

The signing of the INF Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States represents an important step toward nuclear disarmament. Naturally, the durable result in this direction would be a 50-percent reduction of strategic, offensive nuclear weapons, while observing the ABM Treaty and ensuring the stability of the world.

The forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow could mark a considerable contribution to peace.

The first steps in the field of nuclear disarmament and the recently signed documents on Afghanistan fill the international public with enthusiasm.

However, even while the Soviet Union is withdrawing its missiles from the GDR and the CSSR prior to the ratification of the Soviet-American treaty, certain circles are not hiding their intention of rendering worthless the achievements of the Washington meeting held in September 1987. Demands are being voiced for military compensation through increasing other types of armaments and strengthening NATO's southern flank, and appeals are being made to intensify the "Star Wars" program.

Common sense and responsibility call for people to resolutely oppose the prospect of nuclear annihilation. We will always remember Lenin's words: We should not wait.

Facing the tests, the contradictions, and the vicissitudes of human history, this appeal is always topical: We must not postpone things that are in conformity with sound common sense and promise a better future. We must not wait. These words seem to have been pronounced today, in this world which is torn by distrust, but which is still uniform, mutually interdependent, and facing the dilemma of either surviving or destroying itself.

The socialist countries, as was announced at the recent Sofia meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states, do not consider disarmament only within the framework of the nuclear sphere. Numerous initiatives have been adopted by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries on banning chemical weapons and on reducing the armies and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. In its creative content, and its bold, innovative approach to global problems, in the dialectical overcoming of outdated forms, Leninism is the reviving ideological force of the international communist and workers movement. It is indicative that new possibilities are sought to organically link the class interests of the working people with the peoples' aspirations and with universal, human progress.

The decades that have elapsed since the October revolution were characterized by the collapse of the colonial system. Many states insist on the creation of a new, just economic and information system that would guarantee their rights to develop their own national cultures. An increasing number of governments are cooperating on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage. As we see, the Leninist principles continue to exert a strong and beneficial influence in contemporary international life.

Comrades, the foreign policy line of the People's Republic of Bulgaria worthily serves the humanitarian and peaceful goals of the peace-loving policy conducted by the socialist countries.

The party and government are implementing active and constructive international activity, which conforms with political reality and our security.

The international prestige of our socialist state has increased. Our proposals at authoritative, international forums evoke great interest and enjoy success.

The initiatives of the chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons from the Balkan peninsula and to implement active, joint, ecological initiatives are welcomed with wide support.

Understanding, mutual confidence, and cooperation can transform the former, explosive peninsula into a region of peaceful coexistence and good neighborliness.

We have reasons to declare that the first meeting in history of ministers of foreign affairs from Balkan countries held in February 1988 had a positive response and gives rise to high hopes.

The friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the great Soviet country are the mainstay of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, an inalienable part of our national soul, and represent an element of primary importance in our motherland's comprehensive, socialist upsurge.

The full mutual confidence and mutual respect, the unity and the fraternal unity of action existing between the BCP and CPSU, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, are a supreme asset of our two peoples, and a common contribution to the struggle for peaceful future on earth.

The common attribute of the Leninist ideas opens broad prospects for cooperation with the other socialist states. The restructuring that is being implemented in countries following the example of the Soviet Union, creates prerequisites for the application of new, useful forms of cooperation, such as the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000, the international scientific and production associations, direct links between labor and creative collectives, mixed enterprises, joint scientific developments in production and the intellectual spheres, and the exchange of experience in party and social activities.

Comrades, at the threshold of the 118th birth anniversary of the leader of revolution, we can declare with profound conviction: In the struggle for renewal and perfection we are constantly searching for the source of Lenin's teaching, his example, and cause. We are searching for the example of the moral height of a man who has totally devoted himself to the communist ideal, the cause of the first builder of socialism.

With ever increasing strength we now feel how much we need his elevated, creative spirit and his ability to lead the revolution along the historical path toward the future.

Leninism, which is constantly proving its unrelenting, creative power, has passed the test of time. The Communists and the contemporary working people now more than ever need the innovative strength of Leninism, its truth, which is illuminating the 20th Century and the wide expanses of the future.

This is why Lenin is immortal. He is our mainstay in the struggle for restructuring socialist society, for a world free of violence and wars.

Leaders at Monument Ceremony

AU250910 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] On 22 April Sofia's public expressed deepest gratitude and respect to the cause of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Wreaths and flowers were laid at his monument on the 118th anniversary of his birth.

Many citizens and guests of Sofia attended the festive ceremony. A representative unit of the Bulgarian People's Army presented military honors, and a brass orchestra played revolutionary marches.

Wreaths and flowers were laid on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the All-People Committee on Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, the Central Council of the Dimitrov Komsomol, the BCP Sofia City Committee, the Sofia City People's Council, the BCP Sofia Oblast Committee, and the Sofia Oblast People's Council.

The wreath of the USSR Embassy in Bulgaria had a ribbon, which read: "To the creator of the CPSU and the Soviet state."

The ceremony was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov.

Vladimir Ivanisov, charge d'affaires at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, also attended the ceremony.

Youth Polled on Attitude Toward Labor

AU261258 Sofia BTA in English
1056 GMT 26 Apr 88

["Bulgarian Youth: Positive Attitude to Labor"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—A sociological survey shows the positive attitude of young Bulgarians to labor. Eighty-six percent of the respondents to the poll organized by the Scientific Institute on Youth Problems with the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, would work even if they are secured materially.

The survey, which is representative and the data is valid for all working young people under 30 in Bulgaria, revealed that 48 percent of them "want to work very much." Other 34 percent also "like to work but not so much." Only 6 percent of the respondents have used the answers "I wouldn't say I like to work" and "it seems better if one can live without working."

Things change when labor is compared to other values. More than a half of the young people think that life outside their workplace offers them more. To the question about their goals in life 44 percent of the respondents have answered with "to live as I want".

The latter answers, in the opinion of the specialists, are not synonymous for all respondents. For one part of them they mean superficial attitude to life, negligence of important social values. For other part of the young people that is not so. Usually in everyday life the young people clash with administrative methods without being able to struggle against them. That is why some of the answers mean willingness for disengagement from the unnecessary tutorship and control. In support of the aforesaid we can recall another study in which one of the questions stated: "Why do you prefer to work night shifts?". The answers were clear: because you can do your work without any boss interfering.

Forty percent of the young people maintain that they work because "it is a social duty" and other 32 percent see work as means of "winning recognition." To the question "why do you work" 31 percent of the young men and 26 percent of the young women have answered with: "To make money".

That does not mean that the young generation assesses money as something that is above everything else. It is true that not long ago the percentage of those who have answered in this way would have been less. But that does not mean that they did not work for money. The language of young people changes along with the language used by society.

To understand better the latter answer it is necessary to know better the income of young people. The study has shown that the income of 76.6 percent of them is lower than the average monthly pay in this country. Only 10 percent of the respondents have been completely satisfied with their monthly income.

The poll has revealed that young Bulgarians do not consider work as an end to itself—neither as chief aim, nor even as an activity of vital importance. Work is a means to achieve certain quality and standard of living according to them.

Fertilizers 'Relatively Clean of Chemicals'

AU271020 Sofia BTA in English
0909 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 27 (BTA)—The results of the inquiry carried out into the use of fertilizers in Bulgaria were announced here and they once again prove that this country's agricultural output is relatively clean of chemicals.

The analysis of the data received from several European states was compared to the analysis of the information on the use of fertilizers in Bulgaria. It turned out that the intensity of the use of fertilizers in this country is two times lower than that in the Netherlands, Belgium, the FRG and other countries. Less fertilizers are being used here than in Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary.

Since Bulgaria is developing an intensive agriculture, after the model of a number of European countries she cannot give up the artificial fertilization of crops. What is more, this is not recommended by science. Bulgaria's industry is following the world trends and it is restructuring and perfecting its output of valuable admixtures. The share of concentrated and pure fertilizers is constantly growing. Farmers prefer combined fertilizers which introduce several active substances, microelements and plant chemical protection means into the soil.

Special attention is being paid to the qualified use of fertilizers because Bulgaria is a country of a great variety of soil and climatic conditions and crops. The Agricultural Academy and the Institute of Soil Science and yields programming have covered this country with a network of laboratories for making agrochemical analyses of the soil.

Briefs

Technical Cooperation With Spain

Sofia, April 21(BTA)—The fifth session of the Bulgaro-Spanish Commission for Techno-Scientific Cooperation ended here today with a signing of a protocol. The cooperation is in the spheres of robotics, informatics, biotechnologies, training of personnel, and concrete agreements in agriculture. The contacts between the Higher Council for Scientific Research in Spain and the

Bulgarian Academy of Sciences will be activated. There are also possibilities for cooperation in railroad transport. The programme for techno-scientific cooperation envisages establishing of direct contacts between Bulgarian and Spanish specialized organizations. Joint scientific research and technological cooperation will be carried out. National and international techno-scientific events will be organized, which will be attended by representatives of the respective country. [Text] [*AU221359 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 21 Apr 88*]

Cultural Agreements With USSR

The agreements for cooperation which were signed here today between the International "Lyudmila Zhivkova" Foundation, the [passage indistinct] contribute to the further intellectual getting closer between the peoples of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and for their intellectual enrichment. The agreements cover the 1988-1990 period and they are the first such agreements signed by the Soviet Fund for Culture, which has been found a year and a half ago, with similar organizations from the socialist countries. Mr Vladimir Zhivkov, chairman of the international foundation, and Mr Georgiy Myasnikov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Fund for Culture, who signed the agreements, noted that the establishing of new forms of cooperation is in the spirit of the restructuring process under way in the two countries, reflect the desire toward cultural enrichment and unison, and contribute to the further development of the cultural relations. [Text] [*AU221258 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 21 Apr 88*]

Jakes To Visit Romania 27 Apr
LD262126 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1630 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes will visit Romania tomorrow.

Relations Assessed
LD270836 Prague CTK in English
0639 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 27 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Milos Jakes left here this morning for a friendly working visit to Romania.

The visit takes place at the invitation of Romanian Communist Party General Secretary and President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The visit to Romania will be the last of a series of brief working visits to the European socialist countries, member states of the Warsaw Treaty, made by Milos Jakes since his election to the post of party general secretary in December last year. Romania is also among the countries that welcomed Milos Jakes's proposal to create a zone of cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the borderline between Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation in many spheres is developing under the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, renewed in 1968.

Meetings of top representatives of the two countries are of primary importance in strengthening mutual contacts. The last visit to Romania by Czechoslovak president and former party leader Gustav Husak took place in 1985. At that time the two countries signed a Program of Developing Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation up to the Year 2000, representing a solid basis for long-term economic cooperation. Nicolae Ceausescu visited Czechoslovakia in 1987.

As regards economic cooperation, Romania has been for decades one of Czechoslovakia's important trade partners, and accounted for about two percent of Czechoslovakia's total foreign trade turnover last year. The overall trade turnover between the two countries has reached 651 million roubles.

As the possibilities of further growth of the classical exchange of goods have been practically exhausted, modern forms of economic cooperation, especially industrial cooperation and specialization, are coming to the fore. The share of products manufactured under bilateral and multilateral cooperation and specialization agreements constituted 17 percent of the total trade turnover last year.

Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation in science, culture, education, health services, press, radio, television and tourism also helps strengthen friendship between the two countries. Cultural values are exchanged under a plan of cultural cooperation for 1986-1990.

Trade Accord Signed With Albania
LD261409 Prague CTK in English
1227 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—Members of the mixed commission of the Czechoslovak and Albanian foreign ministries signed here Tuesday a protocol on bilateral contacts.

Representatives of the two ministries appreciated bilateral exchange of goods in 1987, and fulfillment of the commitments ensuing forming a trade protocol for 1988. Bilateral exchange of goods has developed dynamically lately. Last year the trade turnover amounted to 84.1 million rubles.

Czechoslovakia is one of Albania's most significant trade partners. The exchange of goods is based on the principle of mutual advantageousness, and both sides are interested in its further development.

Leaders Greet Bulgarians on Treaty Anniversary
AU261148 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Apr 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Congratulations on the 40th Anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Treaty"]

[Text] Prague—The top representatives of the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria exchanged congratulatory telegrams on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the Czechoslovak Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and of the 20th anniversary of its renewal.

The telegram sent by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, CSSR President Gustav Husak, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, stated:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the Czechoslovak Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the 20th anniversary of its renewal we send you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and all fraternal Bulgarian people comradely congratulations and greetings on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the Czechoslovak people, as well as on our own behalf.

The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, signed in 1948—shortly after the Czechoslovak working people's February victory over the reaction—has become a historic landmark in our relations and an important factor which consolidated the ties between our states, which have embarked on the path of building a new, just social system. It significantly contributed toward deepening the friendship and solidarity of our peoples in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; and it established prerequisites for expanding our mutual cooperation on qualitatively higher foundations in a way that is unprecedented to this very day.

The renewed Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which reflects the high level of mutual relations that have been achieved, and also the appurtenance of the two countries to the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, has contributed toward further consolidating and strengthening our alliance and friendship.

Today we can say with a feeling of pride that during the past period we have been loyally and consistently fulfilling the legacy left by the great sons of our peoples—Klement Gottwald and Georgi Dimitrov—whose signatures cemented the first treaty of this kind between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Our two countries have become a firm part of the socialist community, which headed by the Soviet Union, is pursuing a policy of peace and is striving to avert a nuclear catastrophe, achieve disarmament and international detente, and strengthen security and trust in the world. The results achieved in mutual cooperation to date (through the creative and devoted work of the people of our two countries in building socialism under the CPCZ's and BCP's leadership) have a historical significance.

The processes of restructuring and improving the socialist society, which we have initiated in our two countries, are providing mutual relations and cooperation with new contents, enriching them with new forms for the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian people. We assure you that the CPCZ, the government, and all Czechoslovak people will continue to devote lasting attention to their development.

We wish you, dear Comrades, and all Bulgarian Communists and working people many further successes in realizing the conclusions of the BCP's 13th Congress and 10th National Conference, in the feat of the socialist construction of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

SFRY Weekly KOMUNIST Interviews Jakes

LD262132 Prague CTK in English
2000 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party is sincerely interested in the further extension of its cooperation with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes said in an interview with director of the Yugoslav weekly KOMUNIST Vitomir Sudarski.

Milos Jakes stressed that the deepening of cooperation between the two parties is inseparably linked with the overall development of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations. The deep revolutionary traditions of mutual support and solidarity of the two parties and the people of the two countries are based on class struggle against bourgeoise, against fascism and for the victory of socialism. The development of relations between our parties has not always been streamlined, without difficulties, but it is important that problems have been overcome thanks to joint effort and that an atmosphere of confidence and comradely openness has been created which is now characteristic of the whole range of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations.

Envoy to SFRY Briefs Mikulic on Jakes Proposal

LD262034 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1630 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Yugoslavia—Branko Mikulic, chairman of the Federal Executive Committee received in Belgrade today Czechoslovak Ambassador Jan Husak who briefed him on the proposal of Comrade Milos Jakes to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

In his reply Branko Mikulic emphasized that Yugoslavia supports all proposals and initiatives aimed at reducing tension, disarmament, and securing a lasting peace.

AL-AHRAM Interviews Chnoupek in Prague

JN261427 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic
24 Apr 88 p 5

[Interview with CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek by 'Abd al-Malik Khalil in Prague; date not given]

[Text] [Khalil] What do you expect from your visit to Egypt, which will begin tomorrow and which will last 3 days, at the invitation of Egyptian Foreign Minister Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid?

[Chnoupek] My understanding is that the visit is a continuation of fine traditions and a realistic contribution to improving mutual understanding and expanding cooperation. I am looking forward to exchanging opinions with Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid and discussing in greater detail developments in Europe, the Mediterranean, and other parts of the world. I also hope we will discuss developments in the Middle East. Despite the continuous international efforts and international consensus on convening an international conference on the Middle East, no significant progress has been achieved toward settling this chronic crisis.

I would like to point out that during the past years, all Arabs have been convinced that the CSSR has always supported the political and economic independence of the Arab countries. This was clear as of 1955, in 1967 and 1973, and at the present time.

[Khalil] I have heard a great deal about reform programs and economic and social rebuilding in the CSSR. Where does this stand in your foreign policy?

[Chnoupek] I would like to point out that reformation is a continuous process and deals with all activities. You know, of course, that the foreign policy of any country is organically linked to its domestic policy. The new thinking in internatioanl relations is an interpretation of this. We can feel this not only in the tactics but in our strategy. We call for open dialogue to discuss all issues with all sides that honestly want to protect the world in which we live from many dangers and to establish peaceful relations and cooperation.

We thereby coordinate our policies with our allies. If we exchange experiences and experiments with the socialist countries, particularly the USSR, our relations with them will expand. However, this does not take place at the expense of our increasing relations, whose positive elements are also increasing, with the developed capitalist countries as well as with the developing countries. We hope that these countries will occupy a suitable position in drafting the future of the international order. We proceed in this from a basic principle, which provides that despite different political and social systems, peaceful coexistence is possible and is a duty.

[Khalil] Will you please give us a fuller idea of the initiative of Milos Jakes, secretary of the CPCZ, to establish a zone of confidence and cooperation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO?

[Chnoupek] It is an implementation of the new thought in international politics. Its essence lies in its constructive approach to the realities of the age. The contact area between these two alliances is one of the most armed areas in the world. It also encourages a mutual reduction of forces. This initiative is not based on contradictions, but on plans to acheive a rapprochement between the countries of the two alliances. Simply, it is aimed at establishing and strengthening confidence and coexistence in favor of peace. The initiative should not be viewed as a unilateral step, because confidence can be built only through hundreds and even thousands of steps and contacts. It is not built only in the military area, but also in other areas such as politics, economics, environmental protection, and respect for human rights. In fact, we are trying to establish a zone free of all the dangerous offensive weapons, a zone in which the level of military confrontation is low. This does not mean that we are proceeding from a purely military concept. On the contrary, many unilateral steps in other nonmilitary areas will positively reflect on the overall situation and consequently will affect the types of weapons and eliminate the current imbalance. Achieving these goals from the CSSR initiative will be a long-term, multidimensional process covering all aspects of international relations.

Most reactions to our February initiative from Europe or other areas in the world show that it is complete and opened to the participation of other parties. The strength of the initiative lies in this reality.

[Khalil] My attention was drawn by the withdrawal of the Soviet short-range nuclear missiles from your territories before the endorsement of the U.S.-Soviet treaty regarding these types of missiles.

[Chnoupek] This decision was reached by our government and the Soviet Government, and these missiles were transported to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic to be destroyed.

We view this as a political and military decision. This step is based on the spirit of the new thought and will purify international relations. I would like to hint that the withdrawal of the missiles in advance was based on the concept that the historic treaty has created a new situation.

We can add that the agreement between the two superpowers concerns all the socialist countries, especially those that have such missiles on their territories, such as the CSSR and the GDR. What is more important is our people's satisfaction with that step, which reflects a sincere effort to reduce the dangers of a military confrontation in the most sensitive areas in Europe, the contact line between the most two powerful groupings in our contemporary world.

[Khalil] As one of the most experienced foreign ministers, how do you evaluate the development of the international situation over the past 20 years?

[Chnoupek] I think when historians begin writing the history of this period, which may be described as dynamic, contradictory, and even revolutionary, they will arrive at the conclusion that the seventies and eighties were characterized by a number of international events of some significance. This period was affected by positive and negative developments.

I think that the world will proceed on the right path that is based on a reduced international effect. This international effect is the prominant trend in current international relations. However, it is not possible to say that a decisive change or transformation has been accomplished or achieved.

[Khalil] What are the prospects for the CSSR's relations with the Arab countries, especially Egypt, taking into consideration the recent two visits by Egyptian ministers to Prague? How can the CSSR contribute to modernizing the developing countries, and what are the new forms of a more important economic cooperation?

[Chnoupek] There are rich traditions for our relations with the Arab world. These relations are deeply rooted in history. We belong to the European nations that, in the past, benefited from the treasures of Arab culture, science, and arts. The Czechs and Slovaks are vitally interested in the life and culture of the Arabs. This is evident in Czechoslovak research on Arab affairs and its remarkable results. The current results of the work of the Czechoslovak Egyptologists are no less important. They have substantially contributed to furthering knowledge about interesting parts of your country's history.

The firm bases of our friendship and cooperation with the Arab countries were laid when the Arab peoples were fiercely struggling to achieve political and economic independence. They had to confront Israel's aggressive expansionist policy, a policy that some Western countries actively supported.

At that particular time, the Csechoslovak people provided active political support as well as material support for the Arab peoples. In the field of bilateral relations, the year 1955, when we helped Egypt overcome the impact of arms sales embargo by some Western countries, entered history forever.

It is noted that ever since our relations with Egypt and other Arab countries have been greatly progressing in all fields, including the economic field. The evidence for this is the CSSR's role in industrializing many Arab countries, especially Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Libya, and the PDRY. In these countries, there are a number of important industrial factories, agricultural projects, and other remarkable institutions that we helped to build. These have become immortal evidence of Arab-Czechoslovak friendship.

Further Reportage on Chnoupek's Egypt Visit

Holds Talks

LD262137 Prague CTK in English 1937 GMT 26 Apr 88

[By the CTK correspondent]

[Text] Cairo April 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, who arrived here last night for an official visit to Egypt, and Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid stated at their talks here today that Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations are dynamically developing in all spheres of common interest.

The two representatives described a political dialogue as an important contribution to better mutual understanding. They agreed that besides contacts at a ministerial level, consultations will continue at the level of deputy foreign ministers or heads of departments of the two ministries.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid voiced the two countries' interest in further development of cooperation in economy, science and technology, trade, culture, education and other spheres.

They pointed out that there are possibilities of mutually advantageous cooperation and division of labour of the two countries' national economies, including the use of higher forms of economic cooperation such as joint ventures and cooperation on third markets.

Cooperation has already been established between the Czechoslovak Committee of People's Control and the Egyptian Office of State Control, the Ministries of Agriculture, etc.

Mutually advantageous economic cooperation will be extended with the renewal of the activity of the joint Czechoslovak-Egyptian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation, which will meet in Prague in May.

The establishment of the Egyptian friendship committee in Czechoslovakia is a significant contribution to strengthening friendship and cooperation, the ministers said.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid exchanged views on the present state and development of the international situation.

Bohuslav Chnoupek informed Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid in detail of the proposal of Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states, which was favourably received in Egypt and other countries.

He acquainted his Egyptian colleague with further peace initiatives of Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries and with the collective analysis of the development of the international situation, as it was considered at the recent session of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers Committee in Sofia.

The two representatives discussed the present situation in the Middle East and ways towards its just solution.

Though Czechoslovakia is not immediately involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, it could offer its services as a country lying on the crossroads of Europe and organize an unofficial international conference and thus contribute to a just solution of the conflict.

Evaluating the present international political development, the two ministers described as the main task activation of the struggle for averting the threat of nuclear war, for the preservation of peace, disarmament and strengthening security the world over.

They appreciated the Soviet-U.S. talks, the signing of the treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles and the continuation of a dialogue in connection with the preparations of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow, as well as the signing of the Geneva accords on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

The Egyptian foreign minister said that the solving of the Afghan question with the active participation of the United Nations should become a model and an example for a solution of other regional conflicts.

Bohuslav Chnoupek highly appreciated the role of Egypt in the Non-Aligned Movement and its contribution, as a founding member, to the movement's becoming an important political force to be reckoned with in the solution of the most serious questions of the present.

Attends Cairo Dinner

LD262140 Prague CTK in English
2026 GMT 26 Apr 88

[By the CTK correspondent]

[Text] Cairo April 26 (CTK)—In honor of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, who is on an official visit to Egypt, Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid gave a dinner here tonight.

The two ministers presented short speeches at the dinner, appreciating the all-round positive development of Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations and the possibilities of their further extension.

Prospects at Shultz-Shevardnadze Talks Viewed

LD211029 Prague International Service in Czech
2230 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Marcela Doleckova commentary]

[Text] Two-day talks between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, will begin tomorrow in Moscow. This comment by Marcela Doleckova considers their importance:

Only 5 weeks before the trip by U.S. President Ronald Reagan to Moscow the talks between both foreign ministers are in essence a finalization of the agenda of the summit, the agenda from the political angle. The high-point could be a new Soviet-U.S. agreement on a reduction by 50 percent in the number of strategic missiles but unrealistic optimism would not be right here. This was confirmed during his recent visit to Prague by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who said to Radio Prague:

[Begin Dobrynin recording in Russian fading into Czech translation] We can say that present relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are improving. They are still not at the level which we would wish but another personal meeting between the highest representatives of both countries, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, could provide another impulse for them. The first meeting of both representatives in Geneva in 1985 was the most significant for relations between both superpowers because there the joint statement emphasized that a nuclear war must not happen because there would be no victors. This was the first step, this was in fact the begining of better relations with the United States. Then followed further summit meetings and now we are waiting for the arrival of the U.S. President in Moscow. We are working on achieving a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons and we hope this will take place. The hope that such an agreement will take place during Ronald Reagan's visit to Moscow is not certain. The U.S. side is not acting as we would expect. When Secretary of State George Shultz arrives in Moscow, we will see whether progress has been made in that direction, or not. [end recording]

That was Anatoliy Dobrynin. According to reports from the United States it would seem that George Shultz will not bring many new ideas to Moscow. U.S. officials claim that the draft of the new agreement contains thousands of issues which are not clear, and even though the majority of them is only a formal character, some even concern the very essence of the problem. The most important role is not to doubt whether the United States will be willing to commit itself to keeping to an agreement on the limitation of antimissile systems.

As well as disarmament, both foreign ministers are also faced with a whole sphere of problems connected with regional conflicts and excessive optimism would not be right here, despite the fact that the agreement on the Afghan problem was succesful. The Iran-Iraq conflict is escalating and it is acquiring another dimension with the direct intervention of U.S. warships. This once again complicates the possibility of a solution. The Middle East is also not without question marks. The clear unwillingness of the United States to make use of its possibilities to put pressure on Israel casts considerable doubt on the chance of a quick, peaceful, and just solution. And clearly we cannot count on a speedy peace in Central America either, even though recently Mikhail Gorbachev proposed to the United States that both superpowers give up all military deliveries to this region. The stubborness with which President Reagan is betting on a military solution precisely in this area gives rise to justified doubts that George Shultz will be bringing to Moscow a positive reply to this proposal.

Bishop Letter to Colotka on Militia Attack

LD211610 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1415 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Excerpts] A Catholic prayer meeting which was brutally attacked by local militia on 25 March in Bratislava had wide repercussions in Czechoslovakia and throughout the world. Also in Poland solidarity and support were

expressed for Catholics in Czechoslovakia who demand real observation of religious freedoms in their country and removal of obstacles to Church activity erected by the state. [passage omitted]

In view of the brutal treatment of the faithful in Bratislava, Bishop of Slovakia Jan Korec, secretly consecrated during the Stalinist era at the begining of the fifties, sent a letter to Slovak Premier Peter Colotka 4 days after the event. Korec lives in Slovakia. The state authorities do not permit him to perform his episcopal or even pastoral duties.

The Slovak Premier's office replied on 8 April to Bishop Korec, saying that the letter was handed to the appropriate ministry, which in this case is the ministry of Culture.

In his letter, Bishop Jan Korec, as a believer and worker for many years, stressed that those participating in the Bratislava meeting behaved with dignity and prayed, thus peacefully expressing their desires. The authorities were appropriately notified about the meeting, and those participating in it did not violate public order but were brutally attacked by those who should be the guardians of law and order.

Citing numerous examples of inhumane treatment of those praying there, Bishop Korec said that the treatment has not frightened the faithful. He also stressed the Christian attitude of Catholics suffering persecution. Many young people in Czechoslovakia had decided to fast over Easter week for the redemption of their persecutors.

Press Conference Held on Austrian Ruling

LD262149 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Miroslav Pavel, head of the Press and Documentation Department of the Office of the Government Presidium informed Czechoslovak and foreign journalists about some topical tasks of the federal government. The reduction of the number of its members was described as a beginning of the process of changes aimed at transforming the structure of central bodies to suit the current economic reforms.

Dusan Rovensky, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then spoke about further reactions to the initiative of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee to create a zone of confidence along the line of contact of the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. Then he spoke, among other things, about the decision of the Austrian Supreme Court, according to which the Austrian courts are competent to start legal action demanding a halt to the construction of nuclear power stations in Czechoslovakia. This decision sharply contradicts the norms and principles of international law, and contradicts the principle of state sovereignty. It also does not help the creation of good-neighborly relations with Austria, in which Czechoslovakia has a real sincere interest.

In the next part of the press conference, Miloslav Konrad, a member of staff of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, acquainted those present with the preparation of some legal amendments aimed at dealing with humanitarian issues, simplifying journeys of Czechoslovak citizens abroad, and amendments to the visa policy. He said, among other things, that Czechoslovak citizens living permanently abroad will be able to invite their more distant relatives to visit them. He went on to say that since 1 January 1989, foreign citizens will be granted a Czechoslovak visa directly at the border crossing posts at Rozvadov, Dolni Dvoriste, Hate, and Petrzalka. This facility will be extended to other posts later.

Talks With Netherlands' Broek Continue

AU261106 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak-Netherlands Talks"]

[Excerpt] Prague (CTK)—[passage omitted] Talks were held in Cernin Palace on Thursday [21 April] between Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Hans van den Broek, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which focused on current international problems and relations between the two countries. They concerned a broad range of issues—armament and disarmament, East-West relations, improvement of the political atmosphere, regional conflicts, and cooperation among states in tackling the basic question of mankind, which is the lessening of tension.

Positive assessment was made of the Soviet-American talks, of the signing of the treaty on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, of the continuation of dialogue in connection with the preparation of the Moscow summit, as well as of the conclusion of the Geneva agreements on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

Bohuslav Chnoupek noted that relations between the CSSR and the Netherlands were good, free of any outstanding problems. Political dialogue has been revived, which has positively contributed to an expansion of mutual economic cooperation. However, at the same time there exist hidden possibilities that must be tapped in order to intensify relations in the political as well as in the economic fields.

He stressed that the situation in the world has greatly changed since the last meeting between the ministers of foreign affairs of the CSSR and the Netherlands 3 years ago. Current international relations are under the positive influence of the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. We are realists, however, and realize

that negative phenomena linger on. The arms race continues and some regional conflicts have been exacerbated. Therefore, we cannot yet speak about a breakthrough for the better in the international situation.

Bohuslav Chnoupek went on to say that, in its foreign policy, Czechoslovakia attributes special importance to Europe. Its contribution in this respect is the proposal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states, put forward by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on 24 February 1988. The response to this initiative so far, in and beyond Europe, has been positive. We also appreciate the interest that this initiative has encountered in the Netherlands.

Bohuslav Chnoupek also recalled the significance of another international initiative of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, the initiative to organize a conference on the life and work of Jan Amos Komensky. Major personalities from all over the world taking part in the education of man, shaping his way of thinking and feeling, and reinforcing in him the longing for peace will be invited to the conference. We would welcome the Netherlands' participation in the preparation of the conference [Komensky died in exile in the Netherlands].

Hans van den Broek noted, among other things, an improvement in the international situation and intensification in the dialogue between states. He said that the proposal of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states has met with considerable attention in the Netherlands.

As for nuclear disarmament, Broek said that the strategy of NATO, of which the Netherlands is a member, leans on "deterrence" by means of both nuclear and conventional weapons and that nuclear weapons cannot be renounced in the present situation.

The two ministers made a positive evaluation of the state of Czechoslovak-Netherlands relations. The possibilities of their development in the political, economic, cultural, and other fields were assessed.

The talks will continue on Friday [22 April].

On Thursday B. Chnoupek gave a luncheon in honor of Hans van den Broek, at which both ministers proposed toasts.

Hans van den Broek laid a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior in the National Monument on Zizkov hill.

Jakes Receives Greek CP Leader Florakis

LD262003 Prague CTK in English
1741 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 26 [CTK]—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece Charilaos Florakis, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak was also present.

The two representatives informed each other in detail of their countries' internal political situation, of the positions and tasks of the two fraternal parties in the current period and exchanged opinions on some topical issues of the international situation and cooperation of the international communist and workers' movement.

Discussing the international situation, the two representatives paid special attention to the all-European process. They agreed that the accepting of concrete measures proposed by Czechoslovakia and Greece in order to turn central Europe and the Balkans into zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons as well as the latest Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries would represent a significant contribution to further detente in Europe. These proposals could become an example for progress also in other parts of Europe with the final aim of removing all weapons of mass destruction from our continent. They voiced hope for the success of the forthcoming Moscow summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, which would have a positive influence also on the situation in Europe.

Party, State Leaders Congratulate Afghanistan

LD262014 Prague CTK in English
1737 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak and Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal have sent General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President Najibullah and Prime Minister Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand a congratulatory telegram on Afghanistan's national day—The 10th anniversary of the national and democratic revolution.

The telegram stressed Czechoslovakia's full solidarity with the people of Afghanistan in their resolute struggle for the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation, and the conviction that the persistent implementation of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, which resulted from this policy, will enable the Afghan people to concentrate on the peaceful construction of their country. It expressed the conviction that the strong ties

of friendship and cooperation which have traditionally linked together our parties, peoples and countries, will further successfully strengthen and develop, to the benefit of the people of both countries and in the interest of peace and progress in the world.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek congratulated his Afghan counterpart Abdul Wakil on the same occasion.

The Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee has sent a congratultory telegram marking the 10th anniversary of the Afghan April Revolution to the Central Committee of the Afghan National Front.

Rules Change To Ease Foreign Travel, Tourism

LD262139 Prague CTK in English
1229 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—Reactions to Czechoslovakia's proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighborly relations on the borderline between Warsaw Treaty and NATO states appreciate, above all, its constructive approach to realities in the militarily most exposed places of Europe, a Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Dusan Rovensky said the responses pointed out the emphasis put by the initiative on confidence, and its comprehensive nature. He said the initiative is being elaborated by Czechoslovak ministries and other institutions. After this stage ends, consultations are expected to take place with partners in the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states so that their suggestions may be included in the proposal, he added.

Speaking at the press conference was also head of the Federal Passports and Visa Administration of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry Miroslav Konrad who dealt with the preparation of new legal regulations concerning humanitarian issues, travels of Czechoslovak citizens abroad and issuing of visas. He said the aim of these steps is to change existing regulations to simplify and speed up the re-uniting of families whose members live abroad, to make possible quick visits abroad in the case of unexpected events etc.

Referring to travels by Czechoslovak nationals to non-socialist countries (visited by over half a million Czechoslovaks last year), Miroslav Konrad said a decision had been made to increase foreign currency allocations by banks so that each citizen could receive such an allocation once in every three years. Last year the number of trips abroad was 7.5 million. Changes are to be made to simplify the necessary travel documents.

On the granting of Czechoslovak visas, Miroslav Konrad said the majority of foreigners receive them either immediately or within 48 hours and added that from 1 January this year transit via Czechoslovakia is extended from 24 to 48 hours. From January 1, 1989 Czechoslovak visas will be granted to citizens of all countries with which Czechoslovakia maintains diplomatic relations, at the Czechoslovak border crossings at Rozvadov (from the FRG), Dolni Dvoriste, Hate and Petrzalka (from Austria). At present the authorities are considering the question of visas for several entries that are already now being granted to Austrian nationals, Miroslav Konrad said.

Final Day of Joint Federal Assembly Session

AU261321 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 Apr 88 p 1

[Report by Marie Koenigova and Igor Sirota: "Changes in Central Agencies Become Law; Eighth Joint Session of CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers"]

[Excerpts] Prague (By our reporters)—At their eighth joint session on Tuesday [19 April] the two chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly legislated important changes in the system of central federal agencies headed by a member of the CSSR Government. [passage omitted] This corresponds to the law on changes in the system of central federal agencies headed by a member of the CSSR Government, which the deputies of our CSSR Federal Assembly had adopted on the same day. [passage omitted]

In his closing statement Comrade Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR first deputy premier, declared that independent state enterprises operating on the principle of economic accountability would be set up in the spheres of transportation and communications, so as to enable the relevant new ministry to devote itself to the long-term strategic development of transport and communications and to provide a comprehensive solution for persistent problems.

In response to suggestions made by deputy Rudolf Kuljovsky, he stated that under the new economic conditions one envisages working out only one comprehensive national economy plan, which would also incorporate the basic tasks of scientific-technical development. A working agency attached to the Federal Government is to be set up to direct our economic development; it will suggest systemic solutions on the basis of its assessment of the development trends. [passage omitted]

On the same day the CSSR Federal Assembly also approved the CSSR-USSR-GDR Agreement on Inspections, connected with the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and with the accord on inspections on CSSR territory concluded via an exchange of notes between the CSSR and the United States. The inspections, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek stated, are measures demanded by our times. One must therefore define the legal system governing them and regulating the granting of prerogatives and immunity to inspectors, while adequately protecting the interests of

countries receiving them (such as by refusing to grant advantages to undesirable persons). The agreement sets down very precisely the course to be taken in announcing inspections, and the duties and tasks of all the involved parties. [passage omitted]

Minister B. Chnoupek also explained the Accord Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane, or Humiliating Treatment or Punishment, which bids the states to assess all acts of torture as criminal acts and to punish them accordingly. Czechoslovakia has two reservations with regard to the text of the agreement: the first lies in not recognizing the jurisdiction of the Committee Against Torture (set up in order to check adherence to the treaty), since its activities can be misused for interference in our internal affairs; and the second is the usual reservation that the approval of all involved sides is required in order to submit a dispute on the interpretation or implementation of the agreement to the International Court. [passage omitted]

Fourth Session of the Chamber of Nations [subhead]

The Chamber of Nations also convened on Tuesday [19 April] for a brief independent session to verify the validity of Miroslav Zavadil's election to the office of deputy of our supreme legislative body. Miroslav Zavadil was elected member of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium.

The Presidium of the Federal Assembly, chaired by Alois Indra, proclaimed the law on changes in the system of federal central agencies headed by a member of the government, and the law on the protection and use of mineral wealth (i.e. mining law).

After the conclusion of joint deliberations, the Presidiums of the two chambers announced that the next Federal Assembly session would be held on 3 and 4 May and would assess the CSSR Government Programmatic Statement.

Government Session Discusses Foreign Trade

AU201046 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Apr 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Holds Meeting"]

[Text] At its meeting on Thursday [14 April], the CSSR Government discussed and approved a draft bill which amends and supplements Law No.42/1980 on foreign trade relations. The amendment of the existing law in this important sphere of economic life is based on the directives that ensure a comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and, in particular, the draft bill on State Enterprises, which is due to go into effect on 1 July 1988. The proposed amendment considerably extends the scope of the enterprises' economic entrepreneurial activities with foreign countries and for the first time provides in legal form the foundation for direct contractual relations between Czechoslovak economic organizations and organizations abroad.

The activities of economic organizations will be guided and influenced from the center only to the extent necessary and by means that will be defined by the law—primarily economic instruments and generally binding regulations. The interests of the state's economic policy vis-a-vis foreign countries require that there be only one agency of state administration for all types of external economic relations, which guides and controls this activity. This agency will be the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, which will also issue permits to Czechoslovak foreign trade organizations to engage in foreign trade, provided they can show that they have fulfilled the conditions for carrying out foreign trade in a proper, economically efficient, and rational way.

The draft amendment further enshrines the right of Czechoslovak enterprises to choose for indirect economic relations with foreign countries any Czechoslovak organization that is so authorized. The legal status of foreign trade enterprises will be made virtually identical with that of state enterprises. They operate on the basis of self-accounting, self-financing, and socialist self-management, including the election of general managers. This amendment generally places the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade in the position of an interdepartmental agency, because it will be allowed to employ the same management instruments vis-a-vis foreign trade enterprises as are implemented vis-a-vis other state enterprises.

Another point on the agenda of the government session was the draft principles of an experiment to test the new system of planning, financing, and material incentives in organizations fully or partly financed from the state budget. The purpose of this experiment is to find a system of management of the aforementioned organizations that would rationalize the ever increasing costs in the nonproduction sphere. The basis of the entire experiment will be the plan for output and a carefully prepared budget for the remaining 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, which will objectivize expenditure per unit of output in organizations fully or partly financed from the state budget. From that will then proceed the calculation of material incentives, which will constitute one half of the savings of selected material costs, 80 percent of savings in wages, and one half of incomes over and above the plan [nadplanove prijmy]. The remaining part of the savings or incomes will be left in the state budget or in the budget of the appropriate national committee. Superior agencies will determine on a case by case basis which of the items of expenditure will be excluded from savings, for example medicines and special medical material. Superior agencies must continue to strictly check that fictitious savings are not created by deliberately overvaluing expenditure or that savings are achieved by restricting or lowering the standard of the services for which the organizations have been established. The

government entrusted CSSR Deputy Premiers Ladislav Adamec and Peter Colotka, in cooperation with the deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission and the minister of finance, to select by 31 May 1988 10 organizations fully or partly financed from the state budget each from the sphere of education, health care, and culture, and possibly from other spheres of the national economy which are involved in this experiment.

The government discussed a report on the results of a check on the updating of the technical-economic parameters of the tasks of the plan for economic development for the 1986-90 period, carried out by the CSSR Committee of People's Control together with the CSR and the SSR Committees of People's Control. The Committees of People's Control checked a total of 36 state tasks of applied research out of the overall number of 347 tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan determined by the CSSR Government, and ascertained that in the case of 32 tasks practically no updating of technical-economic parameters has occurred. A similar situation exists also with tasks in the plans for technical development in individual ministerial departments. The government therefore decided that deputy premiers and chairmen of the State Commission For Scientific-Technical and Investment Development and the State Planning Commission, in cooperation with the CSSR Committee of People's Control, submit by 30 June 1988 the draft of changes to the state plan for scientific-technical development, which will eliminate tasks in which it will be not possible to realistically guarantee high technical standards and economic efficiency. Resources thus saved will be transferred into the reserve fund, from which tasks fulfilling these requirements will be financed.

During the session the government also assessed and approved principles determining the stipends for in-house postgraduate students [interni aspiranti] and participants in study programs within the framework of preparations for scientific education. The principles are intended to stimulate the interest of postgraduates in in-house scientific study by increasing the stipends, so that they are comparable with the remuneration of postgraduates of institutes of higher education in the other spheres of social practice. Another change is that for a specific contribution to the solution of the tasks of the plan for scientific and technological development one can grant to an in-house postgraduate student remuneration in accordance with the regulations of the training institute in the same way as to other regularly employed researchers.

The government assessed and approved proposals for awarding Red Challenge Banners of the CSSR Government and of the Central Trade Union Council for economic results to organizations and diplomas for the exemplary fulfillment of tasks in export to production organizations of the federal and national agencies in 1987.

Slusovice Chairman Addresses Conference

AU261831 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Apr 88 p 6

[Statement by F. Cuba, chairman of the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, in the discussion at the Gottwaldov District CPCZ Conference, held in Gottwaldov on 16 April: "Regulations Do Not Favor the Fittest"]

[Text] In the sixties Gottwaldov district ranked among the most backward agricultural districts. Today's report of the Presidium of the CPCZ District Committee noted that the agriculture of our district is among the most advanced in the Czech SR.

In the last 2 years we have held the second to fifth place in grain per-hectare yields and the first place in milk yields in the CSSR. In the last 20 years our district agriculture has thus worked its way from one of the last to one of the first ranks in the Czech SR.

The agricultural enterprises of our district recorded their fastest development in the seventies, because our district bodies created very favorable conditions for the development of agricultural enterprises. These favorable conditions affected the development of all agricultural enterprises of the district.

The Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, for instance, recorded the following results in the last 20 years: In 1970 annual milk yields averaged 2,648 kg, in 1980 4,787 kg, and in 1987 6,004 kg; per-hectare yields of grain crops increased from 2.6 tonnes in 1970 to 5.51 tonnes in 1980, to 6.72 tonnes in 1987.

However, the development of our district agriculture did not find its expression just in growing per-hectare yields and livestock yields. The development recorded by our agriculture in the seventies and eighties has been a comprehensive one.

This comprehensive development has led to the generation of resources that could be used not only to promote the development of agriculture, but to promote the further development of our district's villages and towns.

This is also borne out by data about the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agriculture cooperative.

In the last 10 years Agrokombinat Slusovice contributed Kcs145 million to the development of the villages and towns of our district. With its building activity, primarily with its construction projects, it made a contribution in excess of Kcs1.5 billion to our state. It built, among other things, 6 department stores, 3 research institutes, 54 km of paved roads, 3 water reservoirs, and so forth.

These data make it clear that the development of agricultural enterprises has been beneficial to society as it has found its expression not only in growing agricultural output but in general support for the development of society as well.

Therefore, it is possible to infer from what has been said that the further development of agricultural enterprises, too, can be of benefit to our society.

This is the case because our agriculture is strong enough to tackle even those tasks that have not been dealt with in the CSSR to date. Among such tasks that have not been resolved is primarily the production of food.

When we compare the range of products in our stores with the range of products in stores abroad, we are forced to concede great differences to our disadvantage.

It is possible to find reasons for our narrow range of industrial merchandise. In the present period it is impossible, however, to justify our narrow range of food products. Since we have built a modern agriculture and an extensive food industry and avail ourselves of surplus agricultural output, it should definitely be within our power to produce an extensive range of food products. We should be capable, for example, of producing and selling 5 different types of bread, 10 types of other bakery products, 50 different cheeses, 10 different yogurts, and so forth, things we can see in shops abroad. However, a wide range of food products cannot be ensured by food industry enterprises alone.

Food industry enterprises must process large quantities of agricultural produce. It is impossible to produce a wide range of specialties when processing large quantities.

A wide range of specialties must therefore be ensured mainly by agricultural enterprises. It is within the power of agricultural enterprises to take over this task. But, besides tasks in food production, it is within the power of our agriculture to develop other activities as well.

Our district agriculture is thus capable of dealing with many new and needed tasks. Although our district agriculture has been capable for years of dealing with such new tasks, it does not deal with them, nonetheless. It does not deal with them because current follow-up regulations [navazna pravidla] do not permit such activities.

The regulations that govern our agriculture permit an enterprise to sow and reap grain, to take care of cattle, or to repair its machinery.

Conditions for the solution of new comprehensive and developmental tasks have not been created, however. For instance, agricultural enterprises are called upon to build processing capacities. However, follow-up regulations forbid and thwart food production by agricultural enterprises.

It takes, for instance, between 6 months and 2 years to obtain a permit to sell a new beverage. Agricultural enterprises are called upon to continue to increase per-hectare yields and livestock yields and to produce agricultural commodities more cheaply. However, to be able to fulfill these tasks our agriculture must have at its disposal high-yielding biological material—that is, newly bred seeds and animals.

Yet our agriculture does not avail itself of such material, nor will biological service organizations supply such material to our agriculture in the next 10 years. High-yielding biological material must be therefore imported. The biological service organizations forbid these imports, however.

The Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, for instance, has been seeking for a long time the import of top-quality genetic stock of the Holstein cattle breed. It now avails itself of genetic stock of such quality as breeding enterprises would not be even capable of ensuring in this century. Breeders from the USSR, Bulgaria, Austria, and other countries have expressed interest in this genetic stock.

Sales of semen of this genetic stock could bring in profits of hundreds of millions. However, breeding enterprises strictly forbid such a program. Agencies and organizations above the enterprise level are endowed with many legal provisions and follow-up regulations backing such bans.

Agricultural enterprises are called upon to deal with modern trends, such as, for instance, biotechnology. In the nineties the world could benefit from biotechnology similarly as it benefits from electronics today. However, once again, follow-up regulations do not permit such and similar programs.

The Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, for instance, was to build a lysine production plant. The licensing authorities asked for the delivery of 42 opinions on the project. To secure them, employees of the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative had to go through several hundred negotiations.

Yet at the final session the main licensing authority decided that it would issue neither an affirmative nor a negative statement.

The aforesaid examples make it clear that our district agriculture is capable of implementing new, hitherto not implemented programs, that it is capable of coping with tasks that the current period of restructuring calls for.

Current follow-up regulations do not permit such activity, however. This situation exists in our country because of the existence of great differences between the agriculture of our district and agriculture in other districts. The rules for the management of our agriculture have been devised with a view to supporting enterprises that are mediocre or trail behind. Our society cannot afford, however, that only mediocre enterprises and laggards develop and the activity of the fittest enterprises is wasted. Our society is interested in the development of all enterprises. Enterprises that are stabilized must therefore be orientated toward the implementation of new, comprehensive programs. However, such an orientation is possible only in conditions of an economic climate that is conducive to development.

Such a climate is primarily the product of the economic system. Our economic system, however, is devised with a view to supporting the development of average and below-average enterprises. At the same time no system has been created to exploit the activity of the fittest enterprises.

It therefore follows from the aforesaid that it would be appropriate not to formulate just a single economic mechanism and to make all enterprises "fit into it," but to formulate several systems, or to formulate a single system, but to provide for such variants as would allow the development of all agricultural enterprises.

'Church From Below' Member Beaten in E. Berlin

LD262000 Hamburg DPA in German
1201 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Herbert Missletz, a member of an independent peace movement and the "Church From Below" movement in East Berlin, was "brutally beaten up" during an identity check by "people's police officers" in the early hours of this morning, according to Missletz. After showing his identity card, he was dragged to a truck and "threatened, abused, and beaten in an inhuman manner" by 10 police officers.

Immediately afterward, Missletz telephoned a friend in West Berlin, who informed the press of the incident today. It is suspected that the beating is part of a campaign to intimidate groups and people, in anticipation of the upcoming May celebrations. There might be other such cases.

The informant resettled in the West 7 weeks ago. He had earlier been active in the Jena peace community and had also worked for the "Church From Below."

SED 'Nervous' About May Day Demonstrations

DW271225 Bonn DIE WELT in German
27 Apr 88 p 4

[Article by D. Dose and H.R. Karutz: "SED Nervous Over May Day Holiday"]

[Text] Berlin—Using the slogan "freedom for all" and calling for glasnost and human rights, independent "GDR" groups plan to demonstrate on May Day in East Berlin. The SED reacted nervously. Applicants who had openly submitted their requests to the authorities were fined. Meanwhile, the "GDR" is concentrating strong police and security forces in East Berlin because it fears protests and riots during the demonstration, like those during the Liebknecht-Luxemburg demonstration on 17 January.

As DIE WELT has learned, the slogan "freedom for all," a variant of the Luxemburg quotation "freedom is always the freedom for those who think differently," is one of three suggested texts for posters the independent groups plan to show either in the official parade or separately in the May Day demonstration.

The SED accepted, during the "Olof Palme peace march" on 1 September 1987, for example, even such slogans as "carry on Gorby" and "stop shooting at the border." But now the SED units, the State Security Service, the police, and the People's Army have been officially ordered "to absolutely prevent every provocation and interference."

The functionaries threatened all personnel with "disciplinary measures" if they do not take part in the official Sunday demonstrations. Security measures are particularly strong in all cities that have "exit seekers" and independent groups close to the church, such as Leipzig, Jena, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Wernigerode, Goerlitz, and Dessau. Opponents considered as possible "disturbers" of the East Berlin May Day demonstrations will probably be put under house arrest by the weekend, be strictly prohibited from entering the "capital," or will be ordered to report to local police stations.

On Sunday, East Berlin is likely to look like a fortress under siege because the "fighting demonstration" (not Honecker, but trade union chief Harry Tisch will speak) will take place before Western television cameras and correspondents. In preceding years, East Berlin had used the trick of telecasting the demonstration 1 hour later, which allowed enough time to cut out possible protest demonstrations, incidents, or posters filmed on camera...

On Sunday, the FDJ and the paramilitary Society for Sport and Technology will apparently have a special watch task. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND gives places and times to meet for all other organizations, but the SED newspaper said that 'youth bloc' "meeting points and times will be provided by kreis managements," indicating that special arrangements are being made for that segment of marchers.

At all meeting places, strict control of the participants will take place to avoid the infiltration of undesired groups into the parade. Throrough "face controls" are envisaged.

In the middle of this week younger "exit seekers" who had submitted requests had—for the first time—been drafted into the People's Army. In the past such "unreliable elements" had not been drafted. Usually the spring drafts come after May Day.

Call to Take Part in May Day Rally

AU251122 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Apr 88 p 1

[Announcement from bottom of page 1, printed within bold borders]

[Text] Berliners, 1 May 1988 is marked by the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress.

The FDGB Bezirk Executive Committee, the SED bezirk leadership, and the National Front Bezirk Committee call on everyone to take part in the militant rally on 1 May.

Start: 0900 hours in Karl-Marx-Allee.

Decorate the houses and enterprises!

Take part in the militant rally on 1 May!

We are demonstrating for the well-being of the people, for peace, and for the further flourishing and growth of our GDR!

Long live 1 May, the fighting day of the international workers class!

Speaker: Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee.

Figures Concerning 1987 Trade Union Expenditures

AU191206 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Apr 88 p 3

[Text] In 1987 the FDGB spent some M1.2 billion to comprehensively secure the interests of its 9.5 million members through education, cultural and sports activities, benefits, and awards. Membership fees—which constitute the FDGB's main source of income—rose 3.3 percent in the year of the 11th FDGB Congress, continuing the growth of recent years. This was reported by the FDGB National Executive Committee in the trade union journal TRIBUNE on Wednesday [13 April]. Vacations and recreation make up the largest share of the trade union budget. Taking investments for construction and renovation of FDGB recreation homes into consideration, a total of M390.2 million were spent, with M218.1 million provided by the state. Altogether 5.1 million trips to 694 FDGB recreation homes, 5 hotels, houses rented by the FDGB, and private accommodations, as well as company-owned recreation facilities, were granted to trade union members and their families, including 1 million children. A total of 32,608 members were granted trips abroad or sea voyages.

Protection of employees: The trade unions spent M24.3 million for, among other things, training 281,200 voluntary workers for workers' protection, training commission members for the protection of employees, and training inspectors to ensure protection of workers. Over 500,000 copies of each of 26 pamphlets on employee protection were published. In addition, 13 films on various aspects of worker protection were produced.

Cultural work: Trade unions spent a total of M112.2 million for cultural work. The largest share of this sum was used by the trade union basic organization to implement work collectives' culture and education plans. Over 20.2 million visitors attended events in trade union-administered clubs and culture houses. Some 10.5 million books were available from a total of 1,588 trade union libraries.

Large sums were used for the work of the 12,000 lay art collectives, for excursions, for commissioning works of art, purchasing works of art, and for other forms of cooperation between artists and the workers class.

Youth and sports: A total of M51.8 million were spent for youth and sports projects. These sums are used to promote the manifold and close sponsorship relations between enterprises and schools. This fund paid for the care of 800,000 children in 5,000 enterprise holiday camps, and for the training of camp leaders. A total of M16.9 million provided by the Plant Labor Union Executive Board was used to support the work of enterprise sports associations.

Solidarity: Regular solidarity donations expressing the trade unions' proletarian internationalism made it possible for the FDGB to spend M179.5 million for relief services. A total of M105 million of this sum was placed at the disposal of the GDR Solidarity Committee, which provided material services of all kinds for installation of workshops, training foreign students in the GDR, and other purposes.

Work veterans: Nearly M50 million were spent—mainly by enterprise trade union organizations—on cultural and social services for members retired from active service. A total of M2.25 million were placed at the disposal of the People's Solidarity by the FDGB.

This balance sheet containing selected items of trade union expenditure underlines the fact that in our state the working people and their trade unions are masters in their own house. The unity of economic and social policy characterizes the trade union's representation of interests.

Daily Criticizes Stealth Bomber Development

AU252016 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Apr 88 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Milestones"]

[Text] Recently U.S. Secretary of the Air Force Edward Aldridge spoke of a "milestone." But he meant neither the agreement signed by his President and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles of both states, nor the treaty on the halving of their strategic arsenals that is envisaged as the next big step on the path of disarmament. The secretary used the enthusiastic term milestone to describe the so-called Stealth bomber, also known as the B-2.

Aldridge announced that the airplane is going to make its first flight in autumn. The U.S. Air Force plans to acquire 132 units of this new weapon which is considered a strategic system and is top secret. The Stealth bomber is reportedly able to undercut radar systems and to penetrate well into enemy territory without being discovered—of course not with McDonald's hamburgers or Mickey Mouse comics aboard, but with nuclear weapons.

Thus, the B-2 is a new strategic nuclear offensive weapon. It is destined to further increase those arsenals whose reduction to 50 percent of their current level is at present intensively negotiated by the Soviet Union and the United States. The Stealth bomber not only undercuts radar but, above all, also undermines the treaty on strategic offensive weapons, the conclusion of which is demanded and expected by all mankind.

And this bomber is supposed to be a milestone? On which path? Clearly on the path of the arms race, the efforts for military supremacy—thus on the path which, in the end, can only lead to nuclear suicide, to a nuclear inferno.

As one can see, Secretary Aldridge is one of those who march in the opposite direction from us, from the peoples on all continents and also from most of their statesmen. Our milestones are real disarmament steps, and our path is leading to a world free of all nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Until then the peoples who want to live in peace with each other have to struggle along toward many other milestones, to bar the way to those who want to drag our world backwards and to those who want to turn the disarmament treaties into nothing more than a useless piece of paper by increasing armaments in other weapons systems.

Invitation to CDU/CSU Delegation Rescinded

LD221244 Hamburg DPA in German 1023 GMT 22 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—East Berlin authorities have rescinded their invitation to a CDU/CSU Bundestag delegation to visit the GDR from 9 to 12 May. Eduard Lintner, Germany policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU group, who was to head the delegation, said on Friday in Bonn that no reason had been given for the cancellation. East Berlin's decision contradicts all assertions by the GDR leadership to do everything possible to continue normalization and deepen dialogue with the FRG. [passage omitted]

Polish Prosecutor General Zyta Visits

Meets With Krenz

AU211817 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received PPR Prosecutor General Jozef Zyta on Tuesday [19 April].

The interlocutors stressed the high level of trustful cooperation between the two neighboring socialist countries. Good progress has been made on the proven road of cooperation since the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, in the fall of last year.

Egon Krenz explained to the visitor how the SED, by implementing the resolutions of the 11th Congress, consistently continues the social strategy of the developed socialist society. The international meeting on nuclear-free zones, which will convene in Berlin in June, again testifies to the GDR's constructive peace policy in the interest of predictable international relations.

Jozef Zyta reported on the development of socialist lawfulness in the PPR. He paid tribute to the long-standing cooperation between the prosecutors' offices in both countries and emphasized the steady mutual exchange of experiences.

The meeting was attended by Guenter Wendland, general prosecuting attorney of the GDR, and Klaus Sorgenicht, director of the State and Legal Matters Department of the SED Central Committee. Janusz Obodowski, PPR ambassador to the GDR, was also present.

Meets Justice Minister

AU251649 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Apr 88 p 6

[Text] The delegation from the PPR Prosecutor General's Office, headed by Prosecutor General Jozef Zyta, met with GDR Justice Minister Hans-Joachim Heusinger for a friendly talk on Friday [22 April]. During the talk, which wound up the delegation's visit, GDR General Prosecuting Attorney Guenter Wendland and Jozef Zyta agreed on strengthening cooperation between the two countries' prosecutor generals' offices.

Felfe Receives Polish Agriculture Expert

AU251125 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Witold Stasinski, deputy director of the Agriculture and Food Department of the PZPR Central Committee, for a friendly talk on Thursday [21 April]. Werner Felfe briefed the visitor on the various initiatives of the working people, particularly of those in agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry, in successfully implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and of the 13th Peasants' Congress of the GDR. Both sides paid tribute to the high level of overall relations, particularly to the good results of cooperation that have been attained in agriculture on the basis of the agreement between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. In this connection, joint measures in mastering scientific-technological progress were emphasized.

Witold Stasinski will pay a visit to the SED Central Committee Department of Socialist Economic Management and Social Development in Agriculture in Liebenwalde, where a training course for leading PZPR agricultural cadres is being held. During their study visit, the Polish comrades will familiarize themselves with the SED's experiences in implementing its agricultural policy and the policy of alliance, and will conduct a broad exchange of experiences with the cooperative peasants and workers, as well as leading cadres from agricultural producer cooperatives, state farms, and other enterprises in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, from scientific institutions, SED bezirk and kreis leaderships, social mass organizations, and from the state apparatus.

The meeting was attended by Heinz Drescher, deputy chairman of the Agriculture Department of the SED Central Committee, and Janusz Obodowski, PPR ambassador to the GDR.

Stoph Congratulates CSSR's Strougal

AU251426 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed cordial congratulations to Lubomir Strougal upon his reappointment as chairman of the CSSR Government. The telegram expresses the firm conviction that the overall fraternal relations between the GDR and the CSSR will continue to develop and deepen for the benefit of socialism and peace.

Finnish Party Parliamentary Delegation Visits

Arrives 25 Apr

LD251859 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1236 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 25 Apr ADN—A delegation of Social Democratic Party of Finland [SSDP] diet members arrived today in the GDR.

The delegation, headed by Pertti Hietala, chairman of the SSDP's parliamentary group, was warmly greeted at the Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the People's Chamber and chairman of the SED parliamentary group.

Received by Mueckenberger

LD260242 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1832 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 25 Apr (ADN)—A delegation of Social Democratic Party of Finland [SSDP] diet members was received in Berlin Monday by SED Politburo member Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Presidium of the People's Chamber and chairman of the SED parliamentary group. The diet delegation, which arrived in the GDR the same day, is led by Pertti Hietala, chairman of the SSDP parliamentary group.

The partners in the talks reiterated the concurring attitude of the GDR and Finland on questions concerning the disarmament of conventional and nuclear weapons. They described the international meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones to be held in Berlin in June, initiated by Erich Honecker, as an outstanding initiative in this direction.

The roots of the common views lie in the traditions of the German and Finnish workers' movement, Erich Mueckenberger and his guest noted. At the present time the constructive cooperation of the SED and the SSDP is directed at solving the most important question, the preservation of peace. The SED attaches great significance to the relations, now almost 20 years old, practiced with mutual respect between the two parties, because through them a real partnership in the struggle for peace and security has come about, Erich Mueckenberger stressed.

Erich Mueckenberger emphasized that the development of the SSDP as a party dedicating itself with great commitment to the solution of the problems that face mankind today, is being followed with great estimation. The GDR, its allies, the states of the Warsaw Pact, are ready, after the important Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, to advance from zero solution to zero solution with the aim of entering the next millenium without atomic weapons. Both politicians pointed to the responsibility of the parliaments and parliamentarians to actively support this process.

The leader of the Finnish delegation gave thanks for the invitation to visit the GDR, through which a good tradition is being continued. He praised the GDR's peace efforts and expressed readiness to actively support initiatives such as the joint proposal of the SED, the CPCZ and the SSPD for nuclear and chemical weapons-free zones. The Finnish deputies also showed interest in the preparation and carrying out of the forthcoming meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones in Berlin, at which Finland will be represented.

Erich Mueckenberger gave a dinner in honor of the guests.

Meets With Krolikowski

LD262012 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin 26 Apr (ADN)—Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs of the GDR, received on Tuesday for friendly talks a delegation of Social Democratic Party of Finland [SSDP] diet members, headed by Pertti Hietala.

The partners in the talks praised the high level of relations between the GDR and Finland, which received new perspectives with the GDR state visit of Dr Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland, last autumn. They agreed that such trusting, good neighborly relations between states with differing social orders represented an indispensable element in the further consolidation of positive tendencies in the development of the international situation.

Both sides stressed that the commencement of nuclear disarmament, which had been achieved with the treaty on the elimination of U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles, must now be expanded rapidly by means of substantial new steps toward both global and regional disarmament.

Dr Herbert Krolikowski explained the multitude of efforts undertaken in this regard by the GDR, together with the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty, which include an active contribution to the promotion of security and cooperation in the northern part of the continent. He expressed his esteem for the constructive peace engagement of Finland, which was a traditional factor in the stability of northern Europe.

Pertti Hietala gave information on the joint proposal of the SSDP, the MSZMP, and the Italian Socialist party for the strengthening of cooperation, in the interest of European disarmament, of states not possessing nuclear weapons. He praised the GDR initiative on an international meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones in Berlin. The partners in the talks agreed that such an exchange of experiences was geared to giving new impulse to the struggle for creation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in northern Europe as well, which Finland was actively supporting.

'Arafat Sends Message to UN Seminar in Berlin

LD251801 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1103 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 25 Apr (ADN)—The GDR has always stood in firm solidarity with the Palestinian people and supported their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, said Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in a message to the UN-sponsored seminar in Berlin on the Palestine question, read by Dr Isam Kamil Salim, the PLO's ambassador to the GDR. In this message 'Arafat also conveyed greetings to Erich Honecker and to the government and people of the GDR, and expressed his gratitude for the event being held in Berlin.

By the opening day of the UN seminar the uprising of the Palestinian people in the areas occupied by Israel had already been going on for 140 days. The Palestinians have thus continued to reinforce their struggle for the realization of their inalienable rights to dignity and freedom in an independent and sovereign Palestine. Israel still wants to deny the Palestinian people these rights. As an occupying power it is deploying its entire military apparatus. There are 6,000 Palestinians constantly in the clutches of the occupiers. Tel Aviv is encouraged to continue in this manner by the United States, 'Arafat said in his message. He called on Washington to reconsider its policy and to support resolution 38/58c of the United Nations General Assembly of 13 December 1983.

The PLO chairman again rejected the Shultz plan for the Middle East, because it ignores the fact that the Palestinian people are the main victims of the Middle East conflicts and thus must be the main participant in the peace process. Yasir 'Arafat expressed his conviction that the Berlin UN seminar will contribute to a just solution of the Palestine issue.

Angolan Planning Minister Da Silva Visits

Meets With Schuerer

AU251340 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Apr 88 p 3

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [21 April] Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Henriques da Silva, minister of planning of the People's Republic of Angola, who, as the head of a delegation from his country, is taking part in the meeting of the Joint GDR-Angola Commission.

During the friendly meeting, there was a discussion on the further implementation of the agreement on economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Angola for the period 1986-90. The two sides assessed the development of relations between their countries' planning organs positively and spoke in favor of expanding them. [passage omitted]

Talks With Rauchfuss

AU251341 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Apr 88 p 3

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Wolfgang Rauchfuss, chairman of the Joint GDR-Angola Economic Commission and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Henriques da Silva, minister for planning of the People's Republic of Angola, discussed in Berlin on Wednesday [20 April] the state of bilateral economic and trade relations as well as possibilities of how to expand them. The two sides assessed the results of overall cooperation between the friendly countries as positive.

As Wolfgang Rauchfuss pointed out, the GDR considers the People's Republic of Angola an important trade partner. Henriques da Silva paid tribute to the GDR's contribution to strengthening his country's national

economy. The two chairmen of the Economic Committee concurred that economic and trade relations as well as cooperation in the sphere of science and technology can be expanded.

Honecker, Argentine Vice President Hold Talks
LD222137 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1047 GMT 22 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Apr (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Dr Victor Martinez, vice president of the Republic of Argentina and president of the Senate, for a talk on Friday. Dr Victor Martinez is in the GDR at the invitation of the president of the People's Chamber.

The guest conveyed cordial greetings from Dr Raul Alfonsin, president of the Argentine Republic, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

Erich Honecker praised the positive development of bilateral relations between the GDR and Argentina. The concurring views of the two states on questions of preserving world peace and disarmament form a good basis for the further steady expansion of bilateral cooperation in all spheres.

In the present-day international situation, which is marked by the possibility of a change for the better, political dialogue gains increasing importance and becomes an indispensable element of international relations. Argentina's dedicated activity in the six-state initiative is well-known in the GDR and supported here.

The "Stockholm Declaration" reiterated the constructive approach of the representatives of Argentina, Mexico, Sweden, Greece, India, and Tanzania to [words indistinct] peace preservation and prevention of a nuclear inferno.

The two politicians assessed the conclusion of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as an historic milestone on the path to a nuclear weapons-free world. A speedy ratification of an agreement on the 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons would meet the expectations of mankind.

In this connection Erich Honecker and Victor Martinez welcomed the new summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan scheduled for this May.

Erich Honecker stressed that the socialist countries are doing their utmost to contribute to the creation of a climate of detente and mutual trust.

The early withdrawal of Soviet missiles from the GDR and CSSR underlined the firm determination of the socialist countries to free Europe of nuclear weapons and transform it into a zone of peace.

The realization of the GDR's proposal for creation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in central Europe would strengthen trust between states and strengthen security in the region. The convening of an "international meeting on nuclear weapons-free zones" this June in Berlin serves the goal of supporting the establishment of similar peace zones in other regions of the world.

Victor Martinez welcomed the GDR's initiatives for the convening of this international conference and reported that a representative delegation from Argentina would take part in it.

He referred to his government's activities for the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic. He underlined Argentina's activity in support of effective disarmament steps, a ban on nuclear weapons tests, the prevention of the arms race in space, and the peaceful solution of conflicts.

He thanked the GDR for its support within the framework of the United Nations in bringing about a peaceful solution to the Malvinas problem.

Erich Honecker expressed the GDR's high regard for Argentina's work in the Contadora support group for a peaceful solution of the conflict in Central America. The GDR has received with satisfaction the agreement reached between representatives of the democratically elected government of Nicaragua and the contra leadership.

This was a hopeful step which took the Guatemala Agreement into account and gave new impetus to the striving of the peoples of Central America for a stable and permanent peace.

The talk, which took place in an open atmosphere, was attended by Horst Sindermann, political member of the SED Central Committee and president of the People's Chamber; Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Secretary of State Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancellery of the State Council chairman; and Gerhard Korth, head of the Latin American Department in the Foreign Ministry.

Alfredo C. Pons, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Argentina to the GDR was also present.

Grosz Comments on Soviet, Hungarian Reform

DW260541 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Apr 88 pp 172-182

[Interview with Hungarian Premier Karoly Grosz in his Budapest office by DER SPIEGEL editors Klaus Reinhardt, Dieter Wild, and Inge Cyrus; date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier: Mikhail Gorbachev has prescribed glasnost and perestroyka for his country. Hungary has been reforming for 20 years. Do you feel vindicated by the Soviet Union's reform course?

Grosz: No. It confirms only one thing—renewal must be permanent. Some countries realize it earlier, others later. Hungarian reform arose out of Hungarian experience—Soviet reform arose out of Soviet experience. The Soviet Union is a world power; we are a small country. Their political structure is completely different from ours.

DER SPIEGEL: Has it not become easier to implement national reforms in a general reform climate?

Grosz: Yes, it has become much easier. If a soldier goes to battle, it is better to go in a unit than alone. Nevertheless every individual soldier must have a role in the battle, even if he has marched in a unit. We made a mistake 20 years ago, and our friends have learned very much from that mistake.

DER SPIEGEL: What mistake was that?

Grosz: We introduced our economic reform 20 years ago without combining it immediately with social reforms. The new thing in the Soviet Union is that Gorbachev has essentially combined the two.

DER SPIEGEL: Gorbachev has even spoken about a "second Russian revolution" in the Soviet Union. Would you also say that a second revolution is now taking place in Hungary?

Grosz: No, I would not say that, because the reform has occurred over such a long period. In the Soviet Union the change came like an explosion. On the international economy, the Soviet Union was much more isolated than Hungary. We sell 50 percent of our production on the world market, and half of that in capitalist countries.

DER SPIEGEL: Using your imagery, it does not look as if the unit was going into battle with much enthusiasm. Do you think Gorbachev will win?

Grosz: I hope he will win. I will know, however, only when he has really won. As to enthusiasm, the realization that renewal must take place exists in every country. But neither the reasons for that insight, nor the personnel conditions are the same in all socialist countries.

DER SPIEGEL: When do you think we will know whether Gorbachev will win, lose, or draw?

Grosz: All changes in political and social life take time, a lot of time, except for the really revolutionary or counterrevolutionary ones, which I do not want. I think this path will be very long. In 1968, for instance, we were still very naive.

DER SPIEGEL: What do you mean "naive"?

Grosz: We thought we could quickly gallop over problems like Hungarian hussars. We then had to realize that very hard, systematic work was necessary. A reform that you think you can implement in a few weeks or months does not work. So I think there is a lot of work left in the Soviet Union—exactly as in our country—to make reform a success. Today's resistance may be overcome tomorrow, but then some new obstacle will crop up.

DER SPIEGEL: Until the year 2000?

Grosz: Continuously. Whoever was against the reform yesterday could be for it today, and vice versa. One should not overreact. It is quite normal.

DER SPIEGEL: A personal question in this connection: in the late sixties and early seventies you were among those who warned against rapid reform. Today you lead the impatient hussars. How do you explain that changed attitude?

Grosz: I thank you for your qualification—for the old one and the new one. As to the matter, I must say that I still warn against exaggerated or rash reforms. Today everybody in Hungary is for reform. It is fashionable in our country. Nobody wants to be left behind. Otherwise he would be told that he cannot join in. In such a mood everybody wants to reform everything, including what has stood the test of time and does not need to be reformed. In the sixties I was never against reform, only against hasty changes.

DER SPIEGEL: You are against euphoria?

Grosz: Yes, also against euphoria. If it seems to you that I am heading the reform movement, I would rather say that the others have fallen behind.

DER SPIEGEL: One has the impression that Gorbachev feels pressed for time...

Grosz: Naturally we are all pressed for time. A new scientific and technological revolution is taking place in the world. It is not patient. It waits for no country, not even yours. That is what Mr Spaeth of Baden-Wuerttemberg told me.

DER SPIEGEL: A very clever person.

Grosz: Your words. I just want to say that we all have little time. We have realized very many things too late. That applies to the Soviet Union and to Hungary. One can cite various historical and traditional reasons for it.

However, I do not want to excuse the poor Hungarian conditions. We were quite smug about our successes for a time—and now we must pay for it.

DER SPIEGEL: You introduced the most significant economic reforms in the East Bloc, and yet you are now in a deep crisis. The living standard is decreasing every year, per capita debt is the highest in the East Bloc, and dissatisfaction among the people is growing. Could the reason be that socialism is possibly not reformable at all?

Grosz: That is a question we sometimes ask ourselves as well, because if something is not reformable we would not have to work at it.

DER SPIEGEL: And what is your answer to the question?

Grosz: In our view it can be reformed and modernized. I am careful personally not to excuse our laxness or laziness by alleging that socialism is not reformable. Do you know any capitalist state that is mismanaged?

DER SPIEGEL: Many.

Grosz: Likewise, there are poorly managed socialist states. Their current situation indicates the quality of the leadership, not the quality of the whole system.

DER SPIEGEL: But it is a fact that not one socialist state is well off economically.

Grosz: Eventually there will be some. Why are you so impatient? Capitalism also took several hundred years to acquire its modern image. Of course, people tend to be impatient. I also would like to see a much better functioning socialism during my lifetime. That is why I understand that part of society is dissatisfied. We always tell people that they should doubt, because only those who are skeptical will try to find new answers.

DER SPIEGEL: Now that is really a revolutionary statement. In the past we have heard Communist leaders say that man must not doubt; he must believe.

Grosz: You cannot work without believing. However, belief and doubt are not mutually exclusive. Our system does not consist of dogmas, but of various individual thoughts.

DER SPIEGEL: We believe primarily in doubt. Mr Prime Minister, how do you explain the fact that Hungary's economic situation has not decisively improved and its political structures have basically remained the same after 20 years of reform?

Grosz: I have to correct you. Hungary's economy developed very positively until 1973. For instance, we hardly had any debt in 1973. GNP growth was quite high. That changed abruptly after 1973. The international energy crisis hit Hungary, which is short of energy, particularly hard. At the time we assessed the situation incorrectly and therefore made incorrect decisions. We believed that the negative international economic conditions would pass quickly. We now have to bear the consequences.

DER SPIEGEL: The energy crisis hit all countries that are short of energy. However, some capitalist countries short of energy have managed quite well.

Grosz: Right. As I said, the Hungarian economy did not respond well to the challenge of the oil crisis. The capitalist countries that are short of energy responded better. We should have forced our economy to make up for the losses by increasing our efficiency.

DER SPIEGEL: The real reason for the 1973 setback was probably a different one. Those among the party cadres who were opposed to reform gained the upper hand. They put on the brakes.

Grosz: You are making a mountain out of a molehill. I still do not know how the rumor emerged that our reform was curbed by bureaucrats within the party.

DER SPIEGEL: By whom else?

Grosz: As I said, the reform was continued more slowly because Hungary did not have a good answer to the deteriorating external conditions. The concept of reform had been defined under entirely different international economic conditions.

DER SPIEGEL: Hungary has done a lot in the last decade to mobilize market forces. Some 25 percent of your national income is now earned by the private sector. You are about to introduce a stock exchange. You have more joint venture agreements with foreign firms than any other socialist state. However, you have not begun work on any other essential tasks. Why did you not change the structure of the largely unprofitable state-run industry?

Grosz: Because we did not have the money. Since it came into existence, socialism has been short of capital. It was bad luck to have emerged in one of the world's poorest regions. But I admit that the present generation cannot cite history as an excuse anymore.

DER SPIEGEL: If your poor state enterprises become insolvent and swallow up 25 percent of the budget for subsidies, yet cannot be shut down, the question arises as to whether there are any ideological barriers prohibiting their closure.

Grosz: No. The facts, not the ideology, prohibit that. The losses incurred by unprofitable enterprises last year were no more than 5 billion forints. If we had closed down those unprofitable enterprises and created new jobs for the 28,000 people employed there, that would have cost much more than 5 billion forints.

DER SPIEGEL: So it was advantageous not to abolish the unprofitable enterprises?

Grosz: Our main problem actually is not to eliminate the unprofitable enterprises, but rather the fact that the profitable enterprises are not effective enough, that their profits in proportion to their capital are too small, and that they use too much energy or raw materials. Do not forget that cancer of the stomach still cannot be healed by aspirin.

DER SPIEGEL: In order to achieve greater efficiency there seem to be only two cures: the Polish—buy modern machines in the West until the debts amount to 1/3 of the GNP, which ends in bankruptcy; and the Romanian one—demand that the people tighten their belts.

Grosz: There is also a third way.

DER SPIEGEL: We are curious to hear about it.

Grosz: It is the only acceptable one. Fully exploit the available means, manage intelligently, work in a disciplined way, deliver on time, and so on. However, there is one secret. Higher efficiency presupposes greater personal interest. And that must be instilled.

DER SPIEGEL: With the good old efficiency wages?

Grosz: Certainly. Whoever is more efficient must make more money and have the opportunity to spend his income as he pleases. Whoever is less efficient would earn less, possibly much less.

DER SPIEGEL: And the completely lazy are even to be fired?

Grosz: Yes, although we have so far maintained that the state has the task to support even the most lazy.

DER SPIEGEL: The perspective is impressive, although hard to believe. There are fine limits to differentiated wages in Hungary because the wage level as a whole is so low. Inflation has reached 15 percent.

Grosz: Yes, unfortunately. It has never been that high before and I hope we will never have such a high level again—I hope for it because we still have a lot to do about it. However, I could quote many examples from economic history of even higher rates of inflation.

SPIEGEL: You yourself were speaking of new poverty in Hungary.

Grosz: Well, take a look here in town, such as in Rozsa Domb. You should also visit a few Hungarian villages. You will find many examples of what has been achieved in the past 20 years. Families with ambition to get ahead have frequently been successful.

DER SPIEGEL: So there is no poverty after all?

Grosz: Naturally there is a broad social class that has little hope of getting ahead. We must help those people. Another problem is the situation of the intellectuals, who are not at all paid according to their education. That arises from ideological and political reasons. Compared with the leading social classes, the intellectuals were intentionally discriminated against.

DER SPIEGEL: The fact that poverty is not worse in Hungary is due to the people's work habits. Most have second or third jobs.

Grosz: I do not know why you are astonished by that. People all over the world work at second or third jobs if they want to make good money.

DER SPIEGEL: But not to that extent.

Grosz: I can say about myself, for example, that I do not have a second job. I get only one salary, yet I hardly sleep more than 5 hours.

DER SPIEGEL: You have a second job. You are premier and you hold a party office. Or are we ahead of things by separating those two jobs?

Grosz: However, I do not get paid for the party job.

DER SPIEGEL: You yourself mentioned the underpaid intellectuals.

Grosz: Well, I do not complain. What I am making now is enough for me. What would I do with more money? I do not like to eat more than once a day and I do not need more clothing. I have no time for recreation. I am not permitted to have a girl friend. In short, what would I do with the money?

DER SPIEGEL: Maybe buy Transylvania?

Grosz: I would never make that much in my life.

DER SPIEGEL: Let us return from the poor functionaries to the poor masses of the people, which may even increase in number. What do you think of the conclusion that Hungary will be able to improve its economy only if it accepts 200,000 people unemployed by 1989?

Grosz: We currently have 55,000 open jobs. The problem today is finding jobs for unskilled laborers, but a skilled worker can pick a job from 10 offered.

DER SPIEGEL: Theoretically. Unfortunately the open jobs are not where they are sought.

Grosz: That is correct. In certain fields the sought-after jobs do not match those offered. In Miskolc, my home district, for example, there is a surplus of nurses. In Budapest, on the other hand, there is an enormous shortage of nurses. But the women in Miskolc do not want to move to Budapest.

DER SPIEGEL: Is it imaginable that in the future socialist states will have to live with officially recognized unemployment?

Grosz: It is hard for me to reply because you are using the plural. I do not know whether the other socialist states are prepared to do it. We in Hungary will probably be prepared for it when the time comes. Up to now it has not come, fortunately.

DER SPIEGEL: You have linked a rigorous thrift program to a great tax reform, and you have introduced the income tax, something that was unknown under socialism. How much do you expect by that for the state cashbox?

Grosz: Experience shows that taxes are, if anything, a minor source of additional funds for the state, and that is not what we are driving at. But if we want to foster private initiative, make sure savings flow back into our economy, create a way for people to gain additional income from sources other than their own labor, within the framework of the envisaged companies act, and if finally we insist on consumers paying the actual price for any kind of product, we do indeed need a modern tax system. For lack of imagination, we failed to invent a specifically Hungarian tax system. That is why we have adopted yours.

DER SPIEGEL: All that is left for you to adopt now is the withholding tax. Or are you planning to introduce that tax in your country too?

Grosz: In the course of time, we may indeed do so. But we will presumably not be in a position to in 1 year catch up with what we failed to cope with in over 40 years. When the president of Japan's Nissan company—a most amiable person to host—recently paid me a visit, I asked him to explain the structure of a good tax system. He did not know any good tax system, he replied, adding that any system could at best be compatible.

DER SPIEGEL: Introducing the new tax system, you have dealt a heavy blow to private business, although you originally intended to promote it. A large number of small companies are wondering whether, in view of the high tax burden, there is any point at all in continuing to operate. You must certainly have had a different intention.

Grosz: It is a complete mystery to me how you came to those conclusions.

DER SPIEGEL: They are based on the talks we had with several small company holders.

Grosz: Let me state some statistics as a contrast then. In the past 10 years, 1 out of 3 private companies went bankrupt or gave up business. The number of newly founded businesses was just as high, however. While all those developments may not be tax-related, 1988 indubitably taught us some very important lessons in that respect.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Prime Minister, Hungary's communist party is scheduled to hold a party congress on 20 May. It is said that that congress will bring about sensational decisions on matters such as broadening the base for party discussions and widening the scope for social organizations outside the party. One of your country's top ranking comrades, Janos Berecz, even said that the party's leading role would have to be redefined. What was he referring to?

Grosz: What Berecz said is indeed true. The time has come to reconsider the party's leading role, as well as its working style and various ideological issues. Dealing with such matters always goes hand in hand with a shake-up.

DER SPIEGEL: Will there be a reversal?

Grosz: No, in the literal sense of the word, there will be no reversal in our policy. Instead of turning around, we will hold to the course we have followed, but maybe do so in a different way. I hope we will find a faster and modernized course to follow.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you not want that course to be broader too?

Grosz: Yes, that is very important.

DER SPIEGEL: Does reconsidering the party's leading role not also imply reducing and doubting it?

Grosz: No, it does not.

DER SPIEGEL: In other words, it does not entail your party's withdrawal from administration, either?

Grosz: The party will withdraw from government and its practical day-to-day work. While that process of withdrawal has long been under way, it does not mean the party is giving up its leading role.

DER SPIEGEL: Why not?

GROSZ: In the future, the party will be determined by new methods and a different leadership style. For all those changes, the party will not yield its objectives, but rather will avail itself of new methods to achieve them.

DER SPIEGEL: Will the party adopt a softer approach?

Grosz: I hope so, but whatever measures are taken will have to be efficient rather than soft. So far, the party has been the only institution to reflect conflicting interests in our country. Under certain historical circumstances, that is an appropriate situation. But gone are the times when

we faced those circumstances in Hungary. Today there have to be various outlets for interests to come to the surface and gain public awareness, and we have to have opposite interests competing in order to find solutions.

DER SPIEGEL: What is left that the party can do then?

Grosz: The party has to define the direction in which society should be heading.

DER SPIEGEL: That sounds very orthodox.

Grosz: Why?

DER SPIEGEL: Why should forces outside the party not be permitted to determine the direction?

Grosz: I did not say that they are not allowed to determine things. I mean that the party will be more open to all initiatives that come from the grass roots. Party does not mean that there is just the white central committee building here at Budapest's Margareten Bridge. The party, that is, the great number of working people, has to cope with problems at their workplaces. It does not matter whether a person is a member of the party or not. He just has to have a good idea.

SPIEGEL: So the ranks and file is supposed to become more active. Is it true that non-communists with good ideas will be permitted to organize? If so, should the logical consequence not be that there is a multiparty system?

Grosz: Theoretically, a party system with several parties is not ruled out. In the history of the last 30 years, it was not a question of topicality. In 1956 we almost had a multiparty system. At that time more than 70 parties had formed. Just one of them wanted socialism. That party alone survived.

SPIEGEL: So the game is over for all the other parties?

Grosz: I believe historic development may one day again lead to a multiparty system. It is too early now.

SPIEGEL: Might a multiparty system result in the communist party being in the opposition one day?

Grosz: Theoretically yes, of course. It would deserve to be there.

SPIEGEL: What about the leading role of the party that you want to maintain and strengthen?

Grosz: By the party's leading role we do not mean an administrative role. Instead we mean the spiritual leadership of the country. In that context, we are seeking more effective and better techniques. There are some techniques that we have already found. Others we did not.

SPIEGEL: If you should become the opposition for a long period, would that not prove that your techniques of spiritual leadership did not meet with approval?

Grosz: Certainly, but today we tolerate such a risk.

SPIEGEL: Do you take into account that there will be several candidates running for higher party offices?

Grosz: Yes.

SPIEGEL: Are there plans to limit the term of office of high officials, for example of the general secretary?

Grosz: That has already been decided upon. From the very top down to the first secretary of the administrative districts, functionaries will remain in office for two terms. That means altogether 10 years at most.

SPIEGEL: What will a central committee secretary do if he has lost his job after 2 terms of 5 years?

Grosz: He will find another job. There are enough jobs where one can earn his money honestly.

SPIEGEL: And where central committee secretaries are needed?

Grosz: Apart from the general secretary there are seven central committee secretaries. Do you not think jobs could be found for such people every 10 years in light of an overall number of some 4 million workplaces? For example, one of our central committee secretaries is a nuclear physicist who will surely find an adequate job after 10 years. He receives a salary from the academy that is much higher than his earnings during his party work.

SPIEGEL: However, there are not many nuclear scientists among your central committee secretaries.

Grosz: Let us hope so, because in such a small country too many nuclear experts would make no sense. Why do you not believe that, for instance, Janos Berecz as a teacher and educator might do just the same work as another professor? And Gyorgy Lazar, who is an outstanding economist, will probably do a good job the moment he has enough time.

SPIEGEL: And Karoly Grosz might again be a journalist in the end?

Grosz: I would love to be one. In former times I was offered the job of editor-in-chief of Hungarian television. I had promised to do so, but a little later I assumed office as the first secretary of an administrative district.

SPIEGEL: You really preferred television?

Grosz: The job as chief editor was what I really preferred, but I felt obliged to answer the party's call, though it was not an easy decision for me.

SPIEGEL: Before his reforms, Mikhail Gorbachev said "there is no turning back." You said at the start of your term you started "with a program with which you believe you can only win or lose." What is it that you believe you are closer to today?

Grosz: I have come closer to victory.

SPIEGEL: Mister Council of Ministers Chairman, thanks for the interview.

PPF's Pozsgay on Socialism, Reform

AU211445 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Apr 88 p 5

[Interview with PPF Secretary General Imre Pozsgay by Gabor Toth: "Reform Is Our Chance—On the Need for Radical Changes and the Interpretation of Civil Rights—On Rethinking Socialism"—date and place not given]

[Text] We are currently celebrating our National Day in times which affect our fate. Socialist construction in Hungary has reached a stage where further progress is only conceivable if we reconsider our ideas about our system, and reform the entire structure. This intention to reform coincides with the efforts of the broadest groups in Hungarian society and the efforts of its best forces, and is expressed in the program of our social organizations, and primarily in the new and even newer positions taken by our party and in its proposals for action.

The country and the nation pay special attention to the PPF during this historic period. As in other difficult times, many people are now expecting encouragement and guidance from it. We interviewed PPF Secretary General Imre Pozsgay on his views concerning the main directions of political renewal and, more important, on the guarantees of this renewal.

Without Illusions [subhead]

[Toth] At the beginning of the reform process 20 years ago a leading article in MAGYAR NEMZET, written by Ferenc Erdei, was entitled "National Unity for Reform." Summing up the contemporary mood in society, he said the following: "There is unity behind and approval of our goals. There is also concern and anxiety over some implications of the new mechanism. However, active effort, a readiness to initiate, and the serious excitement of the preparations are stronger than all these." What is left of these today?

[Pozsgay] Regrettably, it is mainly only the preparations that have remained. Considering things from a historical perspective, what I find most surprising is that, with respect to our goals, unity and approval then prevailed. Well, even at that time we also had this problem of a superficial identification with them. We were always able to quickly establish the appearance of unity, although we are aware of—and today our historians also reveal this—the intense debates and struggles that went on behind the scenes concerning the introduction of the new mechanism, which could finally be set in motion only at the expense of very great compromises and with "insurance" provided by checking mechanisms. Erdei, of course, also mentioned this; and when I myself think back to the period when the reform began, I remember that people perceived the new goals, and primarily the roads leading toward their accomplishment, as uncertain. There were fears that people who spoke about goods, money, and the market were speaking about capitalism, canceling out the values of socialism, and giving up our achievements to date and the basic ideas of socialism that was advancing toward a society of prosperity, equality, and justice. I understand these concerns, and could also understand them then, although all the time I was convinced—and this is now internationally recognized—that the only serious chance socialism has is inherent in reform.

However, we must get rid of certain illusions. Primarily, we should get rid of the idea that socialism in its own raw and initial form can also be a social form which provides motivation for action. This is not easy, and this was also difficult 20 years ago, because the people who started to prepare the reform at the beginning of the sixties were still working in an atmosphere that was governed by the view that communism was near, that it could be established by the generations alive then, and that it was within their reach. Well, it was difficult not only to understand, but also to live with the fact that, after all this, one heard that communism was an issue for a distant future, and that it could not even guide our everyday actions. Another thing about premonitions: Erdei himself knew very well that, if the reform is not comprehensive and if it does not aim at reorganizing the entire society and changing the system of political institutions, this will bring the danger of withdrawal and a return to the previous situation, as inevitably happened in the seventies.

[Toth] But we have kept silent about this for more than a decade. Surely this is also one of the reasons why our picture of the present and of the present situation is quite unclear. What does the PPF consider to be the way out?

[Pozsgay] The government should not issue an evaluation of the situation which is sharply in contrast with the people's everyday experiences; this is a fundamental requirement. Because if the government were to give in to this temptation and dress up our reality, it would lack the prestige required to have any program or appeal accepted. Today it is expedient to know how to use the reality, and not to change it, by taking into consideration the fact that the nature of the present contradictions and occasional crises in socialism does not only stem from economic origins. We must face at least two overall,

so-called system-specific problems. One, the fact that, in the course of socialist construction, no driving force—capable of also enabling Central European societies to utilize advanced technologies—arose within the realm of those forms of ownership which had developed in the Central European countries, countries that were lagging behind.

The internal driving forces are missing, forces without which it is impossible to operate the present complex systems in production processes efficiently. The absence of these forces obviously results from primitive, socialist—as Marx would say, raw communist—forms of property. In these forms, regulation of distribution always precedes production and the standard of living, and this is the reason why communities established on the basis of self-determination are replaced by the "guidance" of people, by a society which is managed from above. This is the main reason for most of our losses and defeats. Two—and this is integrally related to the first problem—the fact that there are also disturbances in our ideological and moral system of values. Within this system of relations, therefore, an assumption is disproved, the assumption that, by means of moral influence, it is possible to bridge the temporary state in which interest plays a role in shaping production and lifestyle in a rudimentary fashion. No, within the prevailing old and rudimentary forms, even our intellectual and moral life is no longer able to process and solve this problem. But all this must not discourage us. In my opinion, even the worst situation contains several alternatives, and the prospect of development is hidden somewhere among them.

In order to develop, however, we should remember the reasons why the situation developed and the history of the road leading to it. We must do so, not in order to find scapegoats, but in order to try and find an answer to the great riddle: Why does responsibility disappear in the socialist state and social order? Why is it impossible to see it in operation, why can we not assert it! Ultimately, what remains is responsibility which has an overall effect on the system and which creates distrust and lowers prestige within the basic institutions of the system. In my opinion, the way in which a person, in the course of analyzing the situation, responds to the reasons for and the history of the present difficulties is, therefore, a key issue.

The other key issue is that we will not be able to pave the road out of this really difficult situation in any way other than by means of establishing conditions for and the forms of new cooperation in our society. Decisionmaking, political bodies have finally also become convinced that we will not be able to solve the difficulties of our country and nation without a society which is built from below, by the initiatives of its citizens. We must reconsider and reorganize the entire structure of socialism; it will be impossible to advance without such a change. The most important message of the present situation is that things cannot go on as they have so far. The type of political force that the country will accept as its leader will be the one that will be able to respond to this challenge and announce, together with the change, a modernization program. Such an expectation precedes the party conference to be held in May.

An Acknowledged Change [subhead]

[Toth] And what about historical and intellectual continuity, which has so far been an integral part of our policy? What should we adhere to and what are we allowed to give up?

[Pozsgay] This is a well-known difficulty in socialist construction. Here we are speaking not only about the fact that every new era and every new generation that has come of age is obliged to swear by the achievements of their predecessors and recognize their values, but also about the fact that, in the spirit of this oath, every younger generation should continue to bear the burdens which the previous generations had not the heart or the strength to discard. In this respect a whole range of issues is awaiting clarification. For example, I am thinking about the extent to which the fifties were a socialist period, rather than mainly a period of despotism and terror. Or about whether we should continue to religiously retain certain production organizations which developed in industry in the sixties; or whether we should preserve the forms of education under which instruction has been going on almost unchanged for decades. To mention forms of power, too: Should we preserve authoritarian methods simply because they appeared on stage at a certain stage of socialist construction, whereas everyone knows that, because of their alienating effect, they constitute the greatest obstacles to progress? In my opinion, therefore, a wise and honest policy will only accept the achievements of its predecessors as far as it can, and will easily discard solutions which were once considered as values, and which have become unsuitable for encouraging society to greater achievements. A recurring question is whether we should harm those people who acted out of conviction, with all their heart and soul, and with a commitment toward socialism, in activities whose unfavorable consequences we are bearing at present. People who are not guilty of any personal crimes should not be harmed. We do not question the value of their deeds, we respect their greatest treasure, their belief, and we ask them to become supporters of renewal.

[Toth] Continuity, of course, is not only an issue of principle. When the material for debate entitled "Change and Reform" was published over 2 years ago, many people here at the PPF became alarmed even over its name, because it attacked precisely continuity....

[Pozsgay] That is true. But today the history of this material for debate is more interesting than its contents. The PPF's conduct in this matter also carries signs of a change, because the PPF committed the provocative act of working out a paper on alternative proposals covering

a large area of our society—the economy and economic policy. It is possible that the elected PPF bodies would not have adopted these proposals; but because central intervention occurred much too soon, from this moment on it was impossible to have a really substantial and critical debate on the contents of this paper. And we should have debated it because time has also confirmed one of its elements—change itself, and the word change has become part of our political vocabulary since then. Some untenable proposals in this paper have also been confirmed. However, it was not possible to contemplate these proposals with a high degree of scientific accuracy and objectivity, either, because a serious person did not "harm" ["bant"] an intellectual product which had been under suspicion from the moment of its conception and had, as a result, become a commodity that is handed out under the counter [dugaru]. I greatly hope that reform also means that in the future such initiatives will belong to the realm of essential conduct, and will not be classified as rarities and flagrant scandals. I think that reform also eliminates bad reflex actions on the part of authority.

[Toth] Many people are becoming concerned for various reasons. Getting ready for this interview, I read one of your publications published about 1 and 1/2 decades ago in which—thinking about reform—you wrote that "in themselves, conflicts are neither good nor bad; they are social realities which we should endeavor to solve and alleviate."

[Pozsgay] I think the same today, too. Moreover, I think that our aversion to conflicts is really the precursor of the greatest conflict. For political reasons, we were afraid to make timely decisions which would be unfavorable to certain inefficient enterprises and certain groups in society, and we undertook to supply every need even at a time when the national income did not create the necessary conditions for this any more, and a large portion of our debt is used to finance such a situation in which there are no conflicts. Thus, we brought about an overall national conflict, one that can already attack the foundations of the system and cause the loss of political stability in society. Therefore, I think that conflicts should be accepted and dealt with where and when they emerge, and we should not allow tension to accumulate by implementing a policy of delays and concessions. Thus, a policy which is compelled to bargain and make continuous concessions is in a defensive situation, and struggles with constant discord; and the initiatives it could have taken, but didn't, will have to be accepted as defeat.

Missing Communities [subhead]

[Toth] In your opinion, what is the main reason for our tensions? Why is it the case with us that even a person who lives relatively well and already enjoys the benefits of the situation will sooner or later begin to complain?

[Pozsgay] There are historical reasons for this, because socialism or the socialism that has developed so far is in fact only political socialism: It was primarily able to take over the apexes of political power, and from there build itself a social system of mediation and public communication. In other words, so far, socialism has rather been able to establish a political configuration and power arrangements. However, in spite of the existence of the necessary bases, human qualities, and political intentions, socialism has still been unsuccessful in establishing a self-managing socialist economy capable of really great performance, or establishing self-determining and self-governing communities. However, to attain these we should reconsider ownership relations and the entire order of private and community initiatives. Today, opportunities for the establishment of communities and partnerships arise rather like a concession which is comprehensively supported by a multitude of central guarantees. The point is that, since it is a concession, the fate of every initiative is a question of good will. Society must extricate itself from this stage of development and, if the individual is already free and if direct state control over him has been eliminated, society should take a further legal step by providing for the free establishment of associations. Because in my opinion, lawfulness means not only that autocratic means cannot be used to harm the individual, but also that communities of individuals cannot be bothered, by similar means either. The real touchstone of power is whether—if needed and in the spirit of its own laws—it itself is also able to suffer defeat, remain upright, and again engage in political activity, or exercise precisely its executive rights and carry out its duty according to the law.

The Guarantee for This Is: A Movement [Subhead]

[Toth] In all this, we have been analyzing the complete renewal and the structural and functional reforming of socialism. As we can read in the party document published this week, these are already a part of our program and will also be the central idea of the party conference to be held in May. Is the PPF prepared to provide a so-called national "framework" for such a comprehensive reform, which also extends to the field of society and politics?

[Pozsgay] I think the PPF movement can provide a framework for reform if we think of the reform itself as a movement. At present, there is quite a strong mood in society that opposes reform, because we succeeded in devaluing reform in the past by classifying every initiative toward streamlining as reform, even if it concerned the most common issues and changes. This is why the concept of reform is mostly associated with negative and unfavorable experiences in people's minds. When people hear about reform, they think about taxes, inflation, unemployment, and a decreasing living standard. And this is not correct! But society will be able to emerge from this skepticism and doubt only when it is faced with a very active reform movement in which people will be able to distinguish between what is essential and what is

not, and understand that we are really talking about a great, historic venture, which aims at renewing the structure of our system, a national program for which it is worth our while to make sacrifices. In his "German Ideology" Marx wrote that, for us, communism us is not some sort of abstract goal we are constantly trying to accomplish, but a real movement, by means of which we daily make a critical advance beyond the already accomplished situation. This is my attitude to the reform: I can think of it as a movement which makes a critical advance beyond the already accomplished situation every day. But to accomplish this we must establish personal credibility in the reform process in the sense that people in society should clearly say what they mean by reform, and what stand they take when they say this. I must also add that this is correct only if no threat is applied when people are deciding on this issue. That is, one can take a conservative stand and this will not bring shame, or fear for one's existence. But one should also be able to take the side of the reform, and this should not involve any personal risk for him, either. As long as we are not able to again lay the foundations for this and clarify it by means of political measures, the dominant form of conduct will be somehow furtive and stealthy, conduct which, within closed circles, can establish, conditions for launching successful careers, but which will certainly not contribute to the advancement of society.

[Toth] It is striking that confidence in public organizations and official institutions has greatly decreased in recent years. Has this decrease also affected the PPF?

[Pozsgay] Regrettably, it has. This decrease can be stopped, but it is perceptible, even if the PPF has been an exception for a long time and, moreover, has succeeded in increasing its prestige in recent years, and thereby its influence in society. The PPF was able to do this precisely because it was open and critical of the existing conditions, and at the same time was able to offer programs to society. It is a pity that this conduct eventually caused alarm in certain groups, which resulted in pressure being applied to slow down the PPF's initiative and endeavors. Nobody took into consideration the danger which would directly result from this: What would the nation and all these people who think of this patriotic movement as the citizens' and society's framework for socialist construction derive from an ineffective, undecided, and untrustworthy people's front? This is one side of the coin. The other is that the PPF—at the expense of large debates, but without exception—was able to transform every important party resolution into a resolution of our society. True, it succeeded in doing this even if these resolutions were incorrect, precisely because of its earlier confidence, which should now be praised, preserved, and further strengthened. There must be no constant state of war between the citizens' initiatives and policy because, if there is, the whole country suffers from it.

New Consensus Should Be Established [subhead]

[Toth] Agreement and peace are the opposites of war. Two years ago, not long after the PPF conference, you still confidently described the bases required for a consensus. Recently, however, you were not too confident, and spoke about the lack of institutions which would promote "alignment."

[Pozsgay] I resolutely state that only renewed consensus has a chance to preserve the political stability of the country. The conditions are already ripe for this. We need new consensus, not because people feel that their living standard is threatened and because they have become disillusioned with certain institutions and with politics, but because our citizens have now changed. Our previous consensus was established in conditions in which we counted on the citizens' acquiescence, rather than on their active participation. But this did not result in accomplishments and a sense of identification; and there was an identity crisis and skepticism over this system of institutions' ability to solve people's problems. Therefore, at this point a new element of identity and of partnership should be added to the consensus; the promise that everything essential will change! The party, as the leading force in society, the relations between the party and society, the organizations responsible for representing both interests and interest groups in society, and the relations between the party and the citizens will all be renewed. This can be the basis of the new consensus. This new consensus will not then be some way of promising a living, but will create new quality in politics, in which no one—not even the mightiest—is allowed to avoid the challenges of the struggle.

[Toth] From this point of view, how can we evaluate the process of modernizing the system of political institutions, that is currently on the agenda, and the leading role of the party?

[Pozsgay] To exercise power we need different methods form those we have used so far; this is an essential part of renewing the party. We should clearly differentiate between the party and the state, and with clearly defined responsibilities. Naturally, this does not mean that one could question the competence of a political party in any area. This means that the party itself should determine when it has sufficient arguments and opportunities to be convincing. And it should take into consideration the fact that, only as a political movement which has long-term values and which functions as an ideological center that sets out strategies, will it be able to accomplish its goals. Gorbachev said at the January 1987 plenum that one of the main reasons for all our difficulties is that we have adhered to the structures of the twenties and the thirties. This is what we are talking about. The painful and contradictory task we are now facing is to reconsider all this and establish a form of government which works on a national basis and which is supported by society, a form which the people adopt or reject—and, naturally, this latter is also part of the people's supremacy. And we should solve this task while, in the meantime, preserving the already achieved integration in society. The situation

should not lose its stability, because this would not help the people, either. What this means exactly is that, if the party wants to participate in affairs as a party that guides, it should stay away from the everyday chores of state administration and dealings with society. In all probability, this is the only way in which it will be able to rise and take a leading stance in processes in which political, social, and economic tensions develop.

Legislation should define the tasks of the government. In addition, we should renew the method of supervising the government and the system of preparing laws. And all this presupposes that a new Constitution will be written, that the electoral system will be modernized, and that the law on associations and on instituting referendums will be established. All these are part of the reform programs and guiding principles, in the spirit of which we are now getting ready for our party conference. Another thing that belongs here is the need to work out the ways in which the bodies that represent interests, the movements, organizations, and institutions in society—such as the PPF—should become independent, ways which will not only declare their independence, but also guarantee it. Otherwise, the members of these organizations will not consider them to be trustworthy.

Ready for Dialogue [subhead]

[Toth] A consensus would also be required on several issues of detail, for example, on the dialogue with nonparty members. Recently, a church figure precisely analyzed this issue in MAGYAR NEMZET. In considering socialism he asked the following: "What is our role, the role of nonparty members, in the dialogue? What is our place in the political structure?" In the meantime, we simply do not know what to do with certain changes. However, the experience from history is that, if the people's front fails to gather together the spontaneous forces, new poles of attraction develop....

[Pozsgay] Yes; we in the PPF should find a place for and offer scope for the political and other activities of the nonparty members, for the 6.5 million citizens who are nonparty members, who have the right to vote, and who represent the majority of society. At the same time, alternative ways of thinking, and movements that support alternatives will inevitably develop in a society which advances toward freedom, and in a period when contradictions are accumulating. Whether we like it or not, such phenomena emerge, develop, and exist. In my opinion, the issue is what the political system can do with these movements, not whether they can exist or not. If these movements which support alternatives function within the framework of the constitution and accept the need for dialogue, we should create an institutional framework for them within socialism. The only question is whether we, the people's front, and in a wider sense, society, are intellectually and politically ready to adopt them. I think that for too long we have solved such issues too easily through central means, and that currently this otherwise natural manifestation—these alternative movements—also causes bewilderment. And some people are again urging the adoption of central means and administrative methods. However, this approach can no longer be changed; it can only be prevented by a policy of initiative. I will quote Kossuth [Hungarian national hero]: "A wise policy is one which goes forward to meet with the inevitable, not one which resists it." With the concurrence and approval of the nation, we should set new limits which would contribute to reducing dangerous tension. The experience of a freer atmosphere and greater scope for action will enable responsible citizens and their communities to establish public order themselves in areas where signs of anarchy and moral decline have become evident as a result of lack of achievement or offenses against the national character. Where things do not get done by governmental means, they can be done on the basis of self-management.

[Toth] Finally, let us talk about the near future.The coming weeks and months can and will determine the course of Hungarian history for a long time. What was the prevailing mood at the recent session of the MSZMP Central Committee? And what can we, 10 million people, expect from the party conference?

[Pozsgay] The Central Committee session was very active and the debate was intense. Many people contributed to it, and I myself also requested the floor at the session. Most people held identical opinions on the situation, considered the present state of affairs to be serious, and one that must be resolved, and sincerely supported the reform initiatives. I feel the debate at the MSZMP Central Committee session with the intention of clarifying the issues can constitute the starting point for new party unity and, in the context of relations between the party and society, for a new general consensus. In other words, I think that, if we emerge from the world of delays and hesitation, there is hope that the party conference will bring about a radical change in the work done by the party and in the life of the country.

Medgyessy on Problems With Restructuring

LD251105 Budapest MTI in English 0930 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (MTI)—Sunday evening, Hungarian television carried an interview with Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, in its Portrait programme presenting politicians.

With respect to the restructuring taking place in Hungarian economy, Peter Medgyessy said: One of the problems is that, in the past period, we placed greater emphasis on the development of the energy sector than was necessary, and dealt less with the manufacturing industry. In past 15 years, the Hungarian production pattern did not suitably adapt to the world economic changes. Alongside this, companies with poor results received greater assistance from the state than they should have, which had an

unfavourable influence on their flexibility and development. The external and internal problems accumulated; however, the most important reason for the current problems—stressed the deputy prime minister—is our poor adaptibility.

The conceptions of the Hungarian economic reform were not consistent even in the beginning, he said. The reform came to a standstill on several occasions, and implementation of decisions in the proper direction was not consistent. Discussing the past few years he said the first practical steps of the decisions passed in 1984-1985 to accelerate reform were taken only last year.

In answer to a question, Peter Medgyessy noted: The central decisions did not have a well-operating, appropriate control. He evaluated as positive the increasing role of parliament, which also implies a greater control over the work of the government. In this context he stressed the necessity for the reform of the political system of institutions, and referred to the fact that similar processes are taking place—in this field—in the Soviet Union.

Discussing employment policy issues, Peter Medgyessy said: So far we endeavoured for full employment, which harmed efficiency. In his view, although causing tensions and, at times, unemployment, rational employment has to be accepted. Although full employment is a natural effort in socialist society, this cannot be guaranteed in the next period. We have to count on temporary tensions. It seems probably that several poorly operating companies will be closed down, or staffs reduced drastically. This will be accompanied by serious problems in various regions, as the appropriate number of new jobs cannot be created from one day to the next.

With respect to inflation, he noted: The process can be stopped mainly by ensuring an abundance of goods and eliminating the monopoly situation. This year the government, true to its promise, will not take inflationary measures, but it expects the companies to show a similar conduct.

Economic Chamber Executive Board Meets

AU241332 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Apr 88 p 5

[MTI report: "Economic Chamber Executive Board Meeting Held"]

[Text] The meeting of the Executive Board of the Hungarian Economic Chamber on 19 April reviewed the major factors affecting enterprise management. Chairman Tamas Beck said that it was necessary to introduce the tax reform in spite of the fact that switching to the new system is going to be far from smooth. The long-term advantages of the new tax system will, in any case, be perceptible. Similarly, the Economic Chamber urges that the law on associations be formulated as soon as possible. The operation methods will provide enterprises with much better conditions and greater scope. Tamas Beck also spoke about liquidity problems due to government measures reducing the amount of cash in the economy. He said that enterprise profits, according to their balance, were 3.2 percent more than the planned amount in 1987. This extra profit, however, was not derived from the processing industry branches—that is, important branches from the viewpoint of structural policy—but from the domestic trade, foreign trade, building industry, and food industry. However, these financial measures also affected the processing industry branches. There are problems conerning the introduction of foreign working capital. It seems that we will fail to implement the minimal program, because the conditions Hungary offers are not better than the ones offered by other European countries. Therefore, it has become necessary to reformulate the mixed enterprises program.

The participants in the debate said that government assistance in the establishment of such ventures with forint credits would also contribute to an increase in the desire to establish mixed enterprises. The duty on the assets provided by foreign founders of such ventures is quite high, and this is disadvantageous too. The participants in the meeting also spoke about the expected positive effects of the future law on associations in establishing new mixed enterprises. Many foreign firms expressed their desire to purchase shares in the recently established Medicor corporation.

Answering the various observations, Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy said that the tax reform enabled considerable modernization of the wage mechanism. It is important that the enterprises should have the authority to establish wages.

In accordance with the interpretation of the government, the price reform will lead to accelerated creation of market conditions. At present, however, the market does not regulate the prices well enough. Limits should be eliminated in order to increasingly assert market influences. The economic results of the current year so far are not bad. A foreign trade balance emerged in our trade with the capitalist countries in the first 3 months of 1988. Production in some industrial sectors, however, for example, in machine industry and light industry, lagged considerably behind the plan in March. The reasons behind this are currently being studied.

We must refine the implementation of our financial restriction policy all the more so because enterprises can expect further restrictions in the 3d and 4th quarter of 1988. These measures cannot be carried out without conflicts but efforts must be made to reduce as much as possible financial problems due to confrontations and a decrease in credits. One can see that the enterprises have already begun to rationally reduce their assets and have taken measures to accelerate the circulation of funds.

Deputy Minister Views Light Industry Trends

AU211148 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Apr 88 pp 1,4

[Er. E.-attributed report: "Undeveloped Technology and Smaller Staff in Light Industry—More Exports to Capitalist Countries, Smaller Profits"]

[Text] The CEMA Standing Committee on Cooperation in Light Industry will hold its 50th session in Budapest 12-15 April. If one considers the past 30 years, the committee has achieved much, for example in the joint development of products in specialized projects, and measuring instruments in the textile industry. However, the regular meeting will provide an opportunity to clarify topical and disputed issues in order to widen cooperation.

Jozsef Cseh, deputy minister of industry, said at a press conference on 8 April that the Ministry of Industry is in favor of improving the system of interests in the sales of enterprises to socialist countries. He added that the sales of light industry enterprises in socialist countries might somewhat decrease in 1988. The Hungarian light industry, he said, provides 15-16 percent of the Hungarian industrial production. This figure might seem a little high if we compare it to the structure of production in countries which are more developed than Hungary; however, this figure certainly shows the economic opportunities inherent in light industry. This branch had a particularly favorable year in 1987; its production increased dynamically with exports to capitalist countries increasing in particular. At the same time, enterprises also looked for lasting opportunities to replace imports accounted in convertible currency; as a result within 1-2 years, the light industry branch will export more than it imports.

The two main concerns of the light industry are the decrease in the number of people employed in this branch, and the fact that the technological-technical level of the machines is very low. The supply of production assets dropped to the level that existed before the reorganization in the light industry in the seventies. As a result of increases in production costs, branch profitability decreased.

The enterprises' own development funds are very limited. The government has allocated an annual sum of 6 billion forints for light industry investment projects in this plan period because this is the sum needed to preserve the present level. However, due to a lack of sources, some of the development projects were dropped, and others were carried out in other forms, for example by leasing. Opportunities to rent machinery contributed to the aforementioned increase in exports, but this kind of development is regrettably much more "expensive" than buying machines.

The 1988 goals for the light industry set in the people's economy plan are to repeat the 1987 results, dynamically increase non-ruble accounted sales, and slightly reduce domestic sales. The entire production and marketing in the first quarter of 1988 developed accordingly. It is encouraging that there are one and a half times more orders from the furniture manufacturing, paper, textile, and particularly the textile clothing industries than in 1987.

Although the plan takes into account a decrease in domestic consumption, we are warning the enterprises to prepare for this. But then we cannot accurately assess the demand. As regards prices, domestic prices in the light industry follow import prices. The price of basic materials on the world market increased by 20-30 percent in the recent period and one can understand why the processing enterprises pass some of this increase on. The authorities do not approve of unjustified price increases anywhere, but one should expect increases which are economically justified, for example, in the wool industry.

Development in the light industry is of course not uniform. The textile and furniture manufacturing industries achieved better than average results, whereas the shoe manufacturing and leather industries lagged behind other industries (despite the fact that the situation of the leather industry itself improved). Although a reduction in the output of the shoe manufacturing industry is one of the ideas being considered by the ministry, Jozsef Cseh said in answer to a question that the ministry does not intend to pursue this trend at all costs. The stand taken by the ministry is similar to its stand on the ready-to-wear clothes industry, that there should be no unused production capacities. The enterprises should in their own interests look for new markets and occasionally they might also accept commission work.

In response to a question by the MAGYAR HIRLAP reporter we were told that the deadline for the submission of bids on the textile industry competitive bidding was 31 May. Some 31 bids were received from 29 enterprises. The planned investment projects amount to 4.1 billion forints, to which the enterprises and cooperatives require 420 million forints in state subsidies. However, the committee has only 320 million forints at its disposal. The enterprises are expected to receive this aid at the beginning of May.

First Quarter Industrial Performance Reported

AU221922 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Apr 88 p 1

[M.P.-signed report: "Facts About the First Quarter of Industrial Performance—Exports in Convertible Currency Increased"]

[Text] In the first quarter of 1988 Hungarian socialist industry produced 277.3 billion forints' worth of goods, 0.8 percent more in comparable prices than in 1987, and

0.3 percent less than planned. Performance in metallurgy and the chemical industry considerably exceeded the plan, and the performance of the machine industry and electric power industry lagged considerably behind the plan.

Hungarian mines produced 5.2 million tonnes of coal in the first 3 months of 1988, almost 400 tonnes more than planned. The performance of the electric power industry lagged behind the indicators of the first quarter of 1987 by 4.6 percent, and electric power imports increased by 17 percent compared to 1987.

As for industrial performance in March, in the machine industry performance slowed down. Industry produced 20 percent fewer buses, 13.7 percent fewer diesel automobile engines, 4 percent fewer refrigerators, and 3.7 percent fewer electric bulbs than a year ago. In March performance in the transportation means industry decreased by almost 8 percent, and that of vacuum technology industry decreased by 15 percent. Performance in the oil and natural gas industry and distribution also decreased.

Chemical industry performance was 3.5 percent higher than the industrial average, and 2.7 percent higher than planned. This industrial sector increased its ruble-accounted exports by 14 percent. The overall exports directed to socialist markets decreased by 1.4 percent.

Exports to convertible currency markets increased and imports decreased. According to data supplied by the Industry Ministry, industry has a $71.8 million deficit in its foreign trade balance, $200 million less than in 1987. It is worth mentioning that the surplus performance of metallurgy continued to increase by $42.2 million. The machine industry, that is expecting success, continues to struggle with a deficit, but it succeeded in reducing this deficit by $37.2 million.

The number of business contracts on industrial goods increased by almost one-third compared to 1987; the ministry considers this to be considerable progress.

Statistics on Turnover of Goods Reported

AU241751 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Apr 88 p 5

[Correspondent's report: "The Balance of the First Quarter—Sales Decreased in the Shops"]

[Text] The cash income of the population increased by 10 percent in the first quarter of 1988. In evaluating this increase, however, we must take into consideration that in the first quarter of 1987 there was still a wage freeze, according to a Ministry of Trade report which deals with the turnover of goods in the first quarter of 1988. According to this report, retail trade turnover was worth 144.5 billion forints in the first 3 months of 1988, 11 percent more in current prices than in the same period last year. Sales of miscellaneous industrial goods increased the most (by 14 percent), followed by an increase in the turnover of foodstuffs sold in shops (by 9.6 percent), and an increase of 2.4 percent in the turnover of clothing.

In unchanged prices, the retail trade turnover in the first quarter of 1988 decreased by almost 7 percent compared to last year, in other words, we purchased a small amount of goods from shops this year compared with the same period last year.

The stock of the consumer goods trade stood at 95.6 billion forints on 31 March 1988, 2.1 billion forints more than a year ago.

The report analyzes in detail the offer of goods in the first quarter of 1988. As a result of the price increases on 1 January 1988 and of the considerable buying spree at the end of 1987, the demand of the population decreased considerably in 1988. Consumers searched primarily for cheaper goods. Simultaneously, consumers became more sensitive to the harmony between prices and the quality of goods. The balance of supply and demand was restored first in the food branch. An improvement took place in the supply of industrial goods from the middle of February. Along with a generally reduced turnover of goods, demand continued to be high for durable consumer goods, furniture, and building materials.

Among the foodstuffs, the population purchased less meat and meat products. However, more people purchased scraps and poultry pieces, but we did not succeed in assuring a steady supply of these goods everywhere. The supply of cooking oil and margarine, as well as of household chemical articles, synthetic dish-washing materials, and of soaking and rinsing materials improved. There continues to be a shortage of a variety of toothpastes, soaps, and paints.

Sales of clothes decreased considerably compared to last year; the unsuccessful winter sales and the increase in the price of children's clothing contributed to this drop. At the same time, the supply of track suits and of children's and women's underwear and shoes improved. There was a shortage of jeans, corduroy material, silk textiles, men's and boys' suits, and men's jackets.

Automatic and semi-automatic washing machines, domestic and imported freezers, color television sets and small gardening machines continued to be in short supply. There was a shortage of building materials, too, due to increased demand and irregular supply.

Protocol Aids Visa-Free Travel With USSR

LD261903 Budapest MTI in English 1622 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—Recently a protocol was signed in Budapest on promoting the mutual visa free travel of Hungarian and Soviet citizens. As it is known, by January 1 Hungarian Service Passports were

abolished. In the future the sending organization is entitled to issue a travel permit to the Soviet Union which states the aim and duration of the service travel.

Similar regulations apply to the health and holiday related trips.

The agreement extends the consular services in the interest of trips on invitation. The consular offices are entitled to issue an invitation certificate for Hungarian citizens stayin in the Soviet Union for service or study reasons. Students studying in the Soviet Union could invite their family members and friends for a visit on the invitation letter of the Hungarian consul.

Hungarian citizens whose spouse are Soviet citizens are entitled to travel to the closed zones of the Soviet Union on the permission issued by the Soviet Consular Office in Hungary. [Budapest MTI in English at 1705 GMT on 26 April carries the following: "Service message to the attention of the editorial boards" which says that the item "is fully and completely withdrawn."]

Hungarian-Soviet Roundtable on Peace Held

LD262042 Budapest MTI in English
1752 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 26—The place and the role of the peace movement in the socialist society is the title of the Hungarian-Soviet round-table discussion which started in Budapest on Tuesday. At the two day meeting of the Hungarian National Peace Council (OBT) and the Soviet peace defence committee the first day was devoted to the interpretation of the peace and joint and particular ways of dismantling economic and social problems. The delegations of the two peace movements are headed by Miklos Barabas, general secretary of OBT and Igor Filin, secretary of the Soviet peace defence committee.

At the meeting, understanding was reached that war cannot be an alternative to peace because in the nuclear age a new world destruction would completley wipe out mankind. It was emphasized that the notion of peace has become enriched. It is natural that justice, human rights, the ability to handle conflicts in the family and the society and the peace are questions which are interrelated.

Hungarian Leaders Cable Afghan Counterparts

LD261939 Budapest MTI in English
1624 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Nemeth, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, congratulated in a telegram Muhammad Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Republic of Afghanistan, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the April revolution, the national day of Afghanistan.

On the occasion, Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of congratulations to Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Officials Attend Reception

LD262040 Budapest MTI in English
1836 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (MTI)—Asad Keshtmand, the ambassador of the Afghan Republic to Budapest on the national day of his country gave a reception in Budapest on Tuesday. At the event Gyorgy Fejti, HSWP CC secretary, Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, Dr. Istvan Horvath, minister of interior, Dr. Imre Markoja, minister of justice, Dr. Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Ferenc Spilak, deputy minister of trade, and several other representatives of the social, economic and cultural life were present. Several leaders and members of the Budapest diplomatic corps were also present.

Mongolian Party Delegation Visits

AU270953 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
25 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] A delegation of the Mongoligan People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] led by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tserendashiyn Namsray visited Hungary from 20 to 23 April at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee.

MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Lukacs held talks with the Mongolian delegation. At the talks held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, they reviewed the development of Hungarian-Mongolian inter-party relations and the current tasks of socialist construction in the two countries, with particular attention to issues concerning the implementation of the party's leading role and the new methods of party work. The delegation paid a visit to Fejer County.

The delegation was received by Deputy MSZMP General Secretary Gyorgy Lazar.

Leaders Public Appearances 14-20 Apr

AU221732 [Editorial report]

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG of 15 April, and MAGYAR HIRLAP from 18 to 21 April, both in Hungarian, report on the public appearances of the following leaders between 14 and 20 April (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Gyorgy Lazar, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP; Miklos Ovari, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; and Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, met with a delegation of the Norwegian Labor Party which was led by party Vice President Einar Forde and which visited Hungary between 13-17 April; date and place not given. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 18 Apr, p 7)

MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar attended a festive meeting in honor of veteran members of the Iron Workers' Trade Union at the headquarters of the Iron and Electric Power Industry Trade Unions in Budapest on 14 April. (NEPSZABADSAG, 15 Apr, p 4)

Ferenc Havasi, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of the MSZMP Budapest Committee, met with officials and board members of the Writers' Association at the headquarters of the Writers' Association in Budapest on 14 April. (NEPSZABADSAG, 15 Apr, p 5)

Judit Csehak, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of social welfare and health, attended a conference on the relationship between environment and health protection held at the Budapest headquarters of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 20 April. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 21 Apr, p 4)

Nowa Huta Lenin Steelworkers Strike 26 Apr

Action Follows Solidarity Call

AU261538 Paris AFP in English
1420 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26 (AFP)—A strike on Tuesday hit the key Lenin steelworks in Nowa Huta, southern Poland, which employs some 38,000 workers, an informed local source said.

Four workshops employing 6,000 workers were shut down in the strike early Tuesday, the source added.

Negotiations were underway between management and strikers who were demanding salary increases of 12,000 zlotys (30 dollars) and a pledge that strikers would not be victimized, the source said.

The banned Solidarity trade union had called on workers Monday to prepare for a strike following the dismissal of two union representatives who addressed a public meeting at the plant, one of the most important steelworks in Poland, to press for salary increases.

In other trade disputes, a one-day transport strike in the northern city of Bydgoszcz ended Monday with a compromise between strikers and the regional transport authority, officials said.

The Polish Government recently introduced wide-ranging increases in the price of basic commodities.

'Dissidents' Report 3,000 Workers Out

LD261649 Hamburg DPA in German
1533 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—After the bus drivers in Bydgoszcz, workers in several sections of the Lenin steelworks in Nowa Huta near Krakow went on strike on Tuesday. This has been reported by dissident circles in Krakow. According to initial reports about 3,000 workers are said to be involved in the action. They are demanding a 12,000 zloty (DM86) increase in their monthly wages, it was said. The strike had started at 0900.

Talks Adjourn; Strike Spreads 27 Apr

AU270711 Paris AFP in English
0702 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27 (AFP)—A strike at the key Lenin steelworks at Nowa Huta, southern Poland, hardened overnight with close to 70 per cent of the 30,000 work force downing tools, reliable reports from Nowa Huta said.

A strike committee began negotiations with management late Tuesday but these were adjourned early Wednesday after three hours without agreement. The negotiations were scheduled to resume later Wednesday.

The steelworkers are demanding pay rises of 12,000 zlotys (20 dollars) per month and a pledge of no victimization.

The banned Solidarity trade union had called on workers Monday to prepare for a strike following the dismissal of two union representatives who addressed a public meeting at the plant, one of the biggest steelworks in Poland, to press for salary increases.

The dispute at the steelworks followed the end of a one-day transport strike in the northern city of Bydgoszcz with a compromise salary deal between strikers and the regional transport authority, officials said.

Since February 1, the Polish Government has introduced wide-ranging price increases for basic commodities—up by an average 40 per cent for food and cigarettes, 46 per cent for alcohol, 30 per cent for rents, public transportation and postal services, 60 per cent for petrol, 100 per cent for gas and electricity and 200 per cent for coal.

Kindergarten and primary school fees, until now only nominal, have also been increased in line with the revenue of parents.

The 38-million-strong population has seen its spending power cut by 25 per cent, with many old-age pensioners living close to the bread line as inflation officially hit 42 per cent for the first three months of this year.

10,000 Out on Day Two

LD270747 Hamburg DPA in German
0702 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The strike by a part of the work force at the Lenin steelworks in Nowa Huta near Krakow continues today. According to information from Krakow the early shift has joined the strike. Around 10,000 workers are therefore now on strike. According to this information part of them remained in the works while another part remained at home. It was reported in opposition circles in Warsaw that the factory's management had negotiated with the strikers in vain until the early hours of this morning.

They are demanding a restructuring of their earnings, pay raises, and the reinstatement of two colleagues who had been sacked for their activities in the banned solidarity trade union. A strike committee was formed yesterday. So far neither the press nor the radio has reported on the strike in Nowa Huta. Polish observers see this complete news embargo by the official media as a sign that the leadership sees the situation as serious.

PAP: Efforts Politically-Motivated

LD270805 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—In Nowa Huta near Kracow, workers of a few departments of the metallurgical industrial complex went on strike, demanding high pay rises much above the steelmill's financial possibilities.

Making such high extra payments has no grounds in the state of the Polish national economy. For, in fact, the paid money, having no equivalent in goods, would rapidly aggravate the scale of inflation, deteriorating the living standards of the entire society. We had already suffered from the effects of such actions in the past when excessive payments forced by strikes had put the country's economy into disorder.

The politically-motivated initiators of such pressure deceive people by holding that high extra payments will secure an improvement of their material situation.

The policy of short-sighted economic decisions taken by enterprises is especially harmful under the conditions of sweeping economic reforms being introduced in Poland since last January for it strikes at the very essence of changes, delaying economic recovery and higher living standards for entire society.

The initiators of the strike have consciously violated binding legal norms which provide for the use of this form of worker protest only after the possibilities to negotiate have been exhausted. They have shown in this way that the most important thing for them is not to win better material conditions for workers but to heighten tension before May Day, tension which they want to use to achieve known political goals.

Hence, it is understandable that those Western political forces which are hostile to Poland have fiercely started, just like they used to do it in the past, a propaganda uproar around the strike in some departments of the Nowa Huta steel mill. They expect this propaganda support to aggravate the situation in Poland, slow down reforms and weaken Poland's prestige.

PAP: Walesa 'Salesman of Ill Will'

LD261514 Warsaw PAP in English
1310 GMT 26 Apr 88

["Would-Be Salesmen of Ill Will"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—For politicoes whose motto is the principle that the worse the situation gets in Poland the better it serves their aspirations, every conflict of even the most local nature becomes a reason for reviving great hopes. They always operate according to the same rule—they convey unconfirmed rumors to some chosen Western correspondents, granting to them on that occasion extensive statements or "programmatic interviews", and, next, offer assistance at conflict spots.

The same routine was again employed over the past few days, in connection with the work stoppage at Bydgoszcz transportation enterprise. Attempts were made to change a local conflict over pay terms into a source of wider unrest.

To attain this, Lech Walesa, who more than once but to no avail called for strike actions this year, has announced in a conversation with the ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent that he might go to Bydgoszcz and "support them". The UPI has reported in turn, that Jan Rulweski "tried to join the strike committee but the drivers themselves rejected his offer."

Stoppage in the work of municipal transport in Bydgoszcz was over before the end of the day. Without the assistance of the salesmen of ill-will. They have been disappointed yet another time. It turned out again that nobody is waiting for them.

Walesa Describes Polish Situation as 'Dramatic'

LD261656 Hamburg DPA in German
1430 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The chairman of the banned Solidarity trade union, Lech Walesa, has today described the situation in Poland as dramatic. After talks with Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorwald Stoltenberg, he told Western journalists in Warsaw that a similar situation could arise anywhere in Poland like the strike of public transport employees yesterday in Bydgoszcz.

The population is extremely discontented. On top of rising prices there is the difficult social situation in Poland. Solidarity does not want to use any drastic means or strikes but the government must be forced into real reforms. Solidarity intends to decide soon on suitable measures. The strike in Bydgoszcz started spontaniously without any involvement by Solidarity. Representatives of the official unions have been brought into the negotiations.

'Dissidents' Call for Release of Armenian

LD261729 Hamburg DPA in German
1545 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Nine dissidents from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have called for the release of the Armenian Parwir Airkian (38), who was arrested in Armenia on 25 March together with two like-minded colleagues for "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda." He had briefed Western correspondents in Moscow on the demonstrations and the situation in Armenia.

In a statement made known in Warsaw today, the signatories stress that freedom of speech includes the freedom to disseminate information. Thanks to people such as Airkian the world public learned about the events in the Soviet Union. The prominent Polish civil rights activist Jacek Kuron is one of the signatories. [passage omitted]

Human Rights Committee Holds First Meeting

LD262225 Warsaw PAP in English
2019 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—Social Committee for Human Rights assembled for its first, founding meeting at the seat of the main board of the Association of Polish Lawyers ZPP here today. This is another step in the implementation of last year's initiative forwarded by activists of the association to create a plane for broad public debate and civic activity in the field of human rights. The idea, the participants recalled, has stemmed from the notion of great and constantly growing significance of the rights of an individual in contemporary world.

Much is being done in Poland in recent years, stressed chairman of the ZPP main board, Professor Adam Zielinski, with the view to protecting the rights of our citizens in a possibly best way. The scope of these rights is being expanded, the mechanisms of the functioning of the state are democratized, the guarantees of law abidingness are expanded. We treat this as a natural process. No one is surprised today by the seven-year existence of the Supreme Administrative Court or the operation of the constitutional tribunal, although these are true milestones on the road of human rights protection. We are constantly thinking what to do in the future to intensify and improve the process of human rights protection in our country. The ombudsman works only several months and it already is an institution we have managed to get used to and recognize it as a necessary element in our legal-state system.

The discussion defined the aims and tasks put before the committee: to initiate intensification of various civil rights and liberties, to inspire studies and analyses of the implementation of human rights and their connections with the fulfillment of citizens' duties, to popularize in society the knowledge of the individual's rights and obligations, to represent Polish public opinion on the international forum, and to present there the Polish experience in this field.

Paradox of Israeli State Terrorism Decried

AU251216 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
23-24 Apr 88 p 9

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "Various Faces of Terrorism"]

[Text] History knows of no case in which terrorism could claim that it has changed events in its favor. Today no one claims that the murder of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914 was the main reason for World War I. We now know from credible sources that the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy was going to attack Serbia in any case, so that the Sarajevo shots merely accelerated the attack.

History stresses the hopelessness of terrorism as a means of struggle for any cause at all. Enlightened nations seem to share all aspects of this viewpoint, but the fact that people are mature humanitarians does not help to eliminate terrorism, and this is one of the greatest paradoxes of the present time.

Like everyone else, I have ben affected by the 15-day tragedy of the Kuwaiti Boeing-747. It is said that effective Algerian diplomacy has prevented the murder of over 30 persons and that the terrorists have succumbed to the determination of the Kuwait authorities not to release the 17 terrorists imprisoned in Kuwait. We should certainly rejoice that the lives of those who survived a long period of Gehenna and uncertainty have been saved. However, our satisfaction is modest. After all, two people were killed, and the hijackers have been able to get away without giving up their further terrorist struggle. In view of this, the only thing we can do is to wait for a similar act of terror. Wait?

Not at all! When the world's attention was focused on Cyprus and Algeria, terrorism continued to rear its head everywhere else: in Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Italy, the occupied Palestinian territories, and Tunisia. On 16 April a most disturbing and sophisticated murder organized by state terrorism was committed in Tunis. I have in mind the shooting of PLO deputy head Abu Jihad in his own home. Everyone concedes that he was killed by a special Israeli terrorist squad dispatched to Tunisia with the help of all modern means of warfare—ships, planes, espionage, and well-trained and determined terrorists. Everything a government that uses terrorism to further its cause is able to possess was used to kill Abu Jihad. I have in mind all the resources of terrorist struggle, including the propaganda of hatred and revenge.

The worst thing in combating terrorism is the hypocrisy of those who are most vociferous against terror publicly, but who do nothing or little to eliminate reasons for armed violence. At times such vociferousness reminds us of a catch-the-thief attitude. This is what is now taking place in the United Nations during the debate on condemning Israel for the murder in Tunis. Perpetrators and their protectors continue to shrug their shoulders and to sanction state terrorism as a means of revenge for the terrorism of others.

That is why the wave of revenge is continuing at a time when terrorism has been quite clearly defined as a criminal deprivation that "must not produce any benefits, that "must be combated by every available means," and that "should not expect the support of any government at all."

I have quoted these assertions from statements made in the United Nations, because they were made at a time when it seemed that the unity of views held by leaders would effectively stop terrorism. Unfortunately, soon after the most famous debates of over 2 years ago, the

U.S. planes carried out a most open terrorist attack against the capital of Libya. This terror with missiles and bombs laid bare the hypocrisy of state terrorism and solved nothing, just as Abu Jihad's murder and the mutual revenge pursued in Northern Ireland or in the Middle East have solved nothing.

That is why the various faces of terrorism oblige us to assert that the effective struggle against this inhuman aberration [aberacja] makes it necessary for all judges and prosecuting counsels to have clean hands. Terrorism must not produce success. Nor must it be combatted with the very terror resources that even the governments of sovereign states approve of. What is more, if no motive is allowed to justify terrorism, those who want to proclaim equitable laws must all the more be free from the taint of terrorism. Contemplating various faces of terrorism, we are again about to debate the political, and not only the punishable, aspects of the problem. Those who shirk political solutions, as is the case in the Middle East, must consequently either accept or create their own terror. There is no third possibility. This is the only thing that is proved by the new wave of terrorism experienced by the entire world.

Israeli, 'Hitlerite' Occupations Similar

AU251512 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23-24 Apr 88 p 4

[Commentary by Wieslaw Rogowski: "Terrorism Is Inhuman"]

[Text] I think that very few people would consider terrorism a form of struggle that is even partially justified. This is because it is an extreme expression of the contemptuous and inhuman treatment of man, of the treatment of people as objects. An object can be moved as one pleases, and it can be destroyed if this is for any reason necessary. Man is not an object. He is a living and thinking part of life that experiences pain and joy, and it is his right that his existence be respected: The right to life is a fundamental canon of civilization and culture. There are states and legal systems that do not impose the death penalty even in cases in which crimes of the worst kind have been committed. Terrorism is a form of usurpation. It wants to impose sentences that have no justification and no legal basis and to impose them without trial, without any guilt on the part of the victim, and without reason. By hiding behind "ideals" any crime can be justified on whatever grounds—we know this from history: It was the case with racism and with fanaticism. They are nothing more than a guise, a false banner that conceals common murder, and that is the essence of acts of terrorism.

The story of the recent hijacking of a Kuwaiti Boeing 747 by terrorist-fanatics is a sinister example. To bring about the release of 17 other terrorists arrested in Kuwait, tens of passengers have had to suffer for many days and two (at the time of writing) have been killed. What appears to be a "noble" cause on the surface—an attempt to free friends—has resulted in murder and suffering. Only fanaticism is capable of unleashing such extreme actions, in which a complete lack of concern is displayed for other people's lives and for one's life, because the terrorists were ready to die if they met with failure. This approach, which ordinary people find shocking and which gives rise to horror and disgust, prompts condemnation. If anyone who uses any form of terrorism counts on understanding or support, then he is mistaken. He will not receive this from anybody in his right mind.

It is usually said that terror is practiced by states as well as by people. That is true. Were the forms of extermination employed by the Hitlerite occupation forces in Poland and in other countries anything else? Is it not true that today the Israeli occupiers of Arab territory are behaving toward Palestinians—Arab patriots who are demanding freedom and independence—in a rather similar way? This brutal method of silencing the voices of people who are demanding their rights—a method that is bloody and ruthless, and incomprehensible to sensible people—is terrifying. A state that draws its contemporary tradition from the desire to rebuild the strength and culture of its people, which experienced suffering, was murdered on a mass scale by Hitlerism, and was destined for extermination by it, is now using brute force and ruthless methods against other people. This arouses indignation even among the Jews living in diaspora, who do not understand how one can disregard human rights. This weakens, rather than strengthens, their support and sympathy for Israel. This is always the case: Terrorism serves no one, and those who practice it least of all. And that is the way it should be.

Fanaticism gives rise to crime. There are countless examples which prove this. The extremely tragic death of Aldo Moro shows that even being a member of a political elite does not protect one from such acts. The victims of terrorism have been industrialists, bankers, and politicians, but most of all they have been innocent people, as was the case with the Kuwaiti Boeing. That is the most terrible aspect of terrorism: despite the supposed selectivity of its "aims," terrorism is aimless, first and foremost. In essence, all it does is engender fear; it is simply blind. Passengers on trains and planes have perished and innocent people have suffered when bombing outrages have occurred and hijackings and shootings have taken place without any consideration for people.

Any price seemed good when an act of terror appeared to be effective. However, the apparent successes of individual acts of terror have never made up for the losses. There is no cause, however just, that is worth such a price. Terrorism gives rise to terror, fear, and condemnation; it can do nothing else.

Terrorism is blind. It does not take account of morality. It is, therefore, a common crime.

Arab fanatics, members of the "Red Brigades," Israeli commandos, secret service agents sent to foreign countries, and the aim of solving political questions by way of the bomb, the bullet, and the death of innocent people does not bring the ideological goals of these groups and political currents closer but makes them more distant. It is a paradox, but without the support of public opinion no cause can be victorious. The Iran-Iraq war, which has by now become senseless, is an example of this: There is no state or people in the world that would support or even understand or try to understand the purpose of these battles. These battles have been going on for many years, they have produced no solution, and have only resulted in the deaths of thousands of people, and among this destruction and these acts of terror—how else can one describe the firing of missiles at each others' cities—whatever meaning there is is lost. People have even stopped understanding the causes of the war. No one knows what was at issue between the two sides, but people do know that the ultimate goal has become mutual destruction. Is that what is at issue? Where is the sense, the desire to live, and concern for people's welfare?

Against this background, the desire of peoples and states to cooperate in the struggle against terrorism has become completely understandable and enjoys universal support. This is particularly true with respect to the struggle against hijackers of aircraft. This is because it illustrates particularly vividly how innocent people must suffer when fanaticism and crime come to the fore. It is, therefore, necessary to expand cooperation so that ordinary people, who do not deserve to be treated in this way, are protected from suffering and death. There is no justification for terrorism.

Gasoline Entitlements for 2d, 3d Quarters

PM251307 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 28 Mar 88 p 2

[Official announcement of gasoline ration entitlements for 2d, 3d quarter of 1988: "Fill-ups in Second and Third Quarters"]

[Text] Monthly retail allocations of motor fuels for the second and third quarter of 1988, to be drawn against one gasoline ration card coupon marked "April", "May", "June", "July", "August", and "September", will be as follows:

—for mopeds and related vehicles (card category 1), 2 liters;

—for motorcycles and related vehicles (card category 2), 3 liters;

—for automobiles and gasoline-fueled tractors with engine cubic capacity of:

—up to 900 cubic centimeters (card category 3), 8 liters;

—over 900 cubic centimeters (card category 4), 12 liters.

Purchase of motor fuels against the types of ration card coupons specified above can be carried out within 6 months, that is, from 1 April to 30 September 1988.

The regulation stipulating that the vehicle should be present at the filling station at the time of the purchase of the gasoline remains in force, with the exception of single-track vehicles and agricultural tractors, owners of which may draw gasoline against gasoline ration cards issued for these vehicles without being obliged to bring them to the filling station.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Begins Visit 25 Apr

LD252310 Warsaw PAP in English 1458 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 25—Norway's Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg arrived here on Monday for a two-day official visit to this country.

At the Okecie Airport, the guest was welcomed by Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski.

Toasted by Orzechowski

LD261007 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 25—Your current meetings with Polish politicians resume the official government dialogue between our states. Thus, we are closing a difficult period. The present visit is, therefore, of great significance for our bilateral relations and serves well the shaping of an atmosphere of security and cooperation in Europe.

We are glad that Norway comes back to the group of advocates of the consolidation of constructive ties with Poland and development of mutually advantageous cooperation. On our part we declare we are ready to fully use the possibilities existing in this respect. At the same time, we equally address this intention to other states of the north European region neighbouring on Poland. It was, therefore, with great interest and support that we received the proposals presented by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Murmansk with regard to that area.

Poland, along with other states, welcomes with satisfaction the signes of consolidating favourable trends in the international situation, and especially in the East-West relations. The prospect of guaranteeing lasting security for the peoples of the old continent is fully realistic. We have welcomed the historic agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles with great hope, as a significant step in this direction.

The signing of new agreements, including ones aimed at a fifty-per cent reduction of American and Soviet offensive strategic weapons and at preventing the arms race in

space is fully real, simply within a hand's reach. It is our wish that the forthcoming summit meeting in Msocow bring new, significant agreements conducive to the improvement of international climate.

Poland has been traditionally actively aiming at averting the spectre of nuclear annihilation and coming out for detente and development of peaceful cooperation in Europe. We are glad that the idea of nuclear-free zones has materialized in some regions of the world and is being actively examined in others. We particularly appreciate the activity of Nordic countries in this respect.

Last year Poland put forward an original, complex plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe. A gradual materialization of the Jaruzelski Plan would be of great significance for lowering the level of military confrontation, reducing the risk of an outbreak of armed conflict, and a significant reduction of the possibility of a sudden attack. We treat the plan as an open one. Soon, we shall present its new, developed interpretation.

The Polish Government is open to any constructive initiatives and proposals serving the development of relations between Poland and Norway.

We count on the continuation and expansion of political dialogue. Let me express a deep conviction that the development of relations between Poland and Norway will also bring lasting values to the cause of constructing indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation.

Returns Toast

LD261013 Warsaw PAP in English
2212 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 25—It is with satisfaction that we note conditions exist for the resumption of our dialogue and the full restoration of our contacts and cooperation in keeping with the previously existing pattern. The Norwegian Government is ready and determined to work actively with the Polish Government towards achieving these ends.

Spurred by the improvement in the superpower dialogue and concrete achievements in the field of arms control, notably the INF-agreement, new elements of dynamism have entered into East-West contacts which in a relatively short span of time has brought significant changes and necessitated a new look at previous perceptions and established notions. Not least are these new signs evident in Poland. We welcome and encourage that.

These positive developments have created new possibilities for our efforts to eliminate the artificial barriers that out across Europe so as to replace division and confrontation by detente and cooperation.

The question of establishing greater security for all and an enchancing confidence will remain at the core of our efforts. In this connection the INF Treaty and the principles it embodies regarding verification and assymmetrical reductions, present itself as a source of inspiration and a model for future action. We must now utilize the momentum created by this treaty to attain more ambitious disarmament goals, such as a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union, the global elimination of chemical weapons, and the establishment of a stable and secure level of conventional forces in Europe. We are confident that the upcoming summit between President Reagan and Secretary General Gorbachev will contribute to bringing these goals nearer to fulfilment.

A number of issues of key importance to the future constructions of East-West relations are at present discussed at the CSCE conference in Vienna. My government has consistently advocated the adaption of a balanced final document which will lead to tangible improvements in all relevant areas. We are concerned, however, that progress has been slow in the field of human rights and humanitarian questions. It is our conviction that progress in this dimension in itself represents a vital confidence building measure.

Our approach to the bilateral relationship is from our side based on a deep sympathy and friendship towards the Polish nation. We both share the conviction that different political, economic and social systems must not impede the development of a close dialogue and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Recently we have been encouraged by several positive tendencies in our relationship. Our trade has grown considerably over the last year. In this and other fields there are possibilities and reserves, as we see it, for expanding our contacts and cooperation. It is my hope and conviction that our talks here in Warsaw will stimulate these positive tendencies and further strengthen our relations.

Meets With Messner

LD261743 Warsaw PAP in English
1325 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—Premier Zbigniew Messner received here today Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg who is paying an official visit to Poland.

The sides discussed the state of Polish-Norwegian relations and pointed to the eixsting possibilities of their further development. Minister Stoltenberg was also briefed on the realization of the socio-economic reforms now under way in Poland.

The meeting was attended by ambassadors of Poland and Norway Karol Nowakowski and Tormod Petter Svennevig.

Confers With Orzechowski

LD262138 Warsaw PAP in English
1748 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—Norway's Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg, now on an official visit to this country, continued on Tuesday his talks here.

Having comprehensively reviewed the bilateral relations between Poland and Norway, the two sides ended their plenary talks presided over by Marian Orzechowski and Thorvald Stoltenberg. The visit has opened up a new period of good relations which refer to worthy tradition of the past years. It is worthy of mention that thirty years ago, Adam Rapacki started discussion on his plan from talks with the then foreign minister of Norway Halvard Lange.

While discussing the economic relations, the sides pointed to the development of trade exchange. They said that the ship constructing and production of their equipment were areas with prospects. In the field of agriculture and food industry, the undertaking of joint projects depends on the normalization of financial and credit relations, the sides said. They stressed the need for cooperation in environmental protection, science and culture.

The meeting then discussed international issues, with particular stress put on the outcome of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Washington.

The sides discussed at length the issues of European security, including the plans forwarded by the two countries in this respect. The two expressed interest in the successful ending of the CSCE Vienna meeting. The Polish side presented its point of view on issues of all-European cooperation and voiced its fears in connection with an insufficient progress in many a field of this cooperation, and even a regress of the economic cooperation. The meeting stressed that seeking the ways of removing those barriers is in tune with the well conceived interest of Europe.

Also today, Norway's Minister for Foreign Affairs Thorvald Stoltenberg paid a visit to Poland's Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp.

The Norwegian guest met today Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda.

The two reviewed the current situation in economic relations between Poland and Norway, and expressed their satisfaction at good results of 1987 bilateral trade.

The sides stressed at this point that economic potentials of the two countries established a realistic possibility to further develop mutually beneficial trade exchange and economic cooperation.

The two also emphasized their interest in enriching and expanding the assortment of commodities which were the subject of trade exchange as well as in development of cooperation in new fields and in new forms.

Considerable attention was given to problems of normalization of financial and credit relations and its importance for further development of mutual economic relations was underscored.

Good prospects for cooperation were noted in the domains of ship-building industry, production of ship equipment and appliances, energy-saving technologies, equipment for mining and electrical machine industry and of food processing.

A number of the aforementioned domains is currently being negotiated between Polish producers and their Norwegian partners who, in some cases, are also considering a possibility to enter capital ties under the joint-venture system.

In the afternoon today, Thorvald Stoltenberg visited Warsaw's reconstructed royal castle. He met as well activists of the Society for Polish-Norwegian Friendship, the oeration of which serves to consolidate Polish-Norwegian cultural links.

Founded thirty years ago, the Polish-Norwegian Friendship Society organizes also courses of the Norwegian language which are attended by some 500 persons.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD262209 Warsaw PAP in English
2024 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—Poland's President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski on Tuesday received Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg.

The two discussed key problems of the international situation. An opinion was voiced that favourable results of another Gorbachev-Reagan summit meeting will bear a positive impact on the development of disarmament negotiations and on an improvement in East-West relations. In this context attention was called to significant initiatives, including the Polish plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe.

The sides also discussed the state of Polish-Norwegian relations, voicing their interest and readiness to further develop them.

The talk was attended by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski. Present were Ambassadors of Poland to Norway Karol Nowakowski and of Norway to Poland Tormod Petter Svennevig.

Holds News Conference

LD262248 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg today met with journalists to brief them on this assessment of the course of his talks held in Warsaw.

The minister recalled that Norway and Poland had started their political dialogue as early as the fifties as the only countries belonging to different military blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

In his opinion these were valuable contacts contributing to the development of the East-West relations. At present, such a dialogue can be continued. An improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is a favourable factor in this respect. In this situation, the role of medium-size and small countries, which can make a significant contribution to and add to the consolidation of the positive international detente process, is growing, said the Norwegian foreign minister.

Norwegian foreign minister said that during his talks with Marian Orzechowski in Warsaw they diacussed all aspects of the present international situation. Both sides favoured the continuation of the Norwegian-Polish political dialogue, one of the decisions is to resume the so-called round table meetings. Such a meeting will probably be held in Norway next year, while the participants and topics will be determined in working contacts.

When answering questions, Minister Stoltenberg confirmed that the Jaruzelski plan was also a subject of his Warsaw talks. He recognized it as a substantial element in the efforts leading to the consolidation of European detente and disarmament. An important aspect of the talks was also concordant treatment of Europe as one whole and allowing for its role in the process of strengthening the international security.

Answering a question about the prospects of economic relations between Norway and Poland, Minister Stoltenberg highly evaluated the hitherto cooperation of both countries in the field of fisheries and admitted that there are considerable possibilities for making it more dynamic. Polish ship-yards plan to build ships for Norway, which may contribute to the increase of trade between both countries.

Assessing the course of Minister Stoltenberg's visit, Polish Foreign Ministry Spokesman Stefan Staniszewski said the visit was an important element of restoring former friendly and close character to Poland's relations with Norway, and that it would serve well our two nations and East-West relations.

In the course of the talks,the two sides expressed their readiness to develop bilateral relations in all domains.

At this point, it was said that both the countries could make a significant contribution into the process of detente and cooperation in Europe.

As Minister Marian Orzechowski underlined it, "the Polish Government is open to any constructive initiatives and proposals which would be to the advantage of development of relations between Poland and Norway."

Economic relations between Poland and Norway are gradually improving. The Polish side expressed an opinion that normalization of financial relations would considerably enliven economic cooperation to which Poland attaches great importance.

International situation was also discussed. The sides pointed to positive trends in the political and military aspects of East-West relations.

The issue of security and cooperation in Europe was discussed in greater detail. At the same time, an expectation was voiced that the disarmament process assume a continuous and irreversible character.

Minister Stoltenberg's Polish visit is an important event in Polish-Norwegian relations as it opens new opportunities for their development.

Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg invited Minister Marian Orzechowski to pay an official visit to Norway.

The Norwegian minister is leaving Poland tomorrow.

Romania's Giosan Pays Visit; Meets Sejm Chief

AU251747 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1715 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, AGERPRES, 25/04/1988—During their official visit to the Polish People's Republic the Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, had an interview with Roman Malinowski, marshal of the Sejm, as well as with other Polish parliamentarians.

During their talks, both sides highlighted the need for a growing contribution on the part of the two countries' legislative forums to the implementation of the understandings reached by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic.

Emphasis was placed on the important role of parliaments and parliamentarians everywhere in the promotion of the ideals of peace, security, disarmament and equal cooperation among nations.

Arrives in Szczecin

LD262035 Warsaw PAP in English
1802 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Szczecin, April 26—A delegation of Romanian parliamentarians led by Chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania Nicolae Giosan arrived here today for a two-day visit.

The delegation acquainted itself with economic and social problems of the western Pomerania region and with the development of the maritime economy. They also visited the Adolf Warski shipyard here.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister To Visit 28-29 Apr

LD251759 Warsaw PAP in English
1519 GMT 25 Apr 88

[By Zbigniew Boniecki]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, April 25—Petur Mladenov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria's foreign minister, will come for an official friendly visit to Poland between this April 28 and 29. Polish-Bulgarian relations have been favourably developing in all domains, even assuming an innovatory character in some fields.

Working contacts between both states and parties intensively develop, which is manifested by regular visits of their leaders and by adopted documents. The direction of changes under way in Bulgaria is convergent with Polish socialist renewal. That is why both countries tighten the ties of friendly all-round cooperation between political, unionist, youth and social organizations and also between particular enterprises, regions and towns.

In the offing are new documents on priority fields of scientific-technological cooperation till the year 2000 and on cooperation between the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and the Bulgarian party in the sphere of superstructure. For two years now an interparty commission has been active under the co-chairmanship of respective CC secretaries of the PUWP and the Bulgarian Communist Party Jozef Czyrek and Dymitur Stanishev. The body holds its sessions once a year. Close cooperation may be also exemplified by contacts between the Polish United Peasants' Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union. [passage omitted]

Apart from the ministry of Foreign Affairs, Polish-Bulgarian talks will also be held in the Sejm, the PUWP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. They will concern both bilateral relations and the activities carried out by the two countries in the international forum.

The visit by the head of Bulgarian diplomacy will be held in the period significant for the relations between the two countries. In a month's time, on May 29, the two countries will observe the 40th anniversary of Polish-Bulgarian treaty on friendship and mutual assistance.

PZPR's Czyrek Receives PCI Delegation

LD252255 Warsaw PAP in English
1719 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 25—A delegation of the Communist Party of Italy with member of the political management and head of the CC Foreign Department Antonio Rubbi, now on a visit to this country at the invitation from the PUWP CC, was received here on Monday by member of the Political Bureau and CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

The delegation also held talks with Ernest Kucza who is head of the CC Foreign Department. The sides discussed international issues and internal problems of both sides, concern, mainly the prospects for the development of the inter-party cooperation.

FRG Disarmament Official Visits 25-26 Apr

LD262130 Warsaw PAP in English
1936 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—International security, disarmament and CSCE process were discussed during consultations held by the Polish and FRG Foreign Ministries here on April 25 and 26.

On behalf of the Polish side the talks were led by Jerzy M. Nowak, head of the Department of Studies and Programming. On behalf of the FRG side—by Ambassador Josef Holik, plenipotentiary of the Chancellor's Office for Disarmament.

Ambassador Holik was received by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski and Vice-Minister Boleslaw Kulski.

Jaruzelski, Messner Cable Afghanistan

LD262243 Warsaw PAP in English
2203 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 26—PUWP CC first secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner sent a congratulatory cable to general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan CC, President of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah and to Chairman of the Council of Ministers Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand in connection with the national day of Afghanistan and the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution observed on April 27.

Leaders Public Appearances 13-19 Apr

AU221405 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 14 through 20 April reports the following public appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

On 15 April, Premier Zbigniew Messner received Iranian Ambassador Abol Fazl Rahnama-Hazavei (16-17 Apr p 2); on 14 April he received Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski; Stanislaw Kukuryka, Polish ambassador to Libya; and Zbignier Grabowski, rector of the Warsaw Polytechnical School (15 Apr p 2). On 13 April, Politburo Member Kazimierz Barcikowski received credentials from the following new envoys to Poland: Afghan Ambassador Ahmad Nur, Jamaican Ambassador Glaister Geroge Duncan, and Syrian Ambassador Ahmad Sakar (14 Apr p 2); on the same day he received Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki, Polish ambassador to Switzerland (14 Apr p 2); on 16 April he attended the Warsaw meeting of the Polish Scout Union members (18 Apr p 2); on 18 April he presented appointment certificates to new university professors (19 Apr p 4).

Jozef Baryla, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received on an unspecified date a delegation of the CPSU Committee in Luck (15 Apr p 2); on 18 April he met with the veteran communist Mieczyslaw Puteczny, who is 75. (19 Apr p 2).

On 18 April Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Cioek attended the Treblinka death camp ceremony to honor the memory of the Jews who perished there during the war (19 Apr p 1); on the same day he attended a Warsaw exhibition of Jewish cultural achievements (19 Apr p 2).

Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak on an unspecified date attended the Siedlce party meeting discussing the role of the people's councils (18 Apr p 2).

On 13 April Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met in Gdansk with journalists from Gdansk and Elblag Voivodships to discuss the elections to the people's councils (14 Apr p 2); on 18 April he received a delegation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party (19 Apr p 2).

On 18 April Politburo Candidate Member Manfred Gorywoda placed flowers at the monument of the Stakhanovite Wincenty Pstrowski who died 40 years ago (19 Apr p 2).

On 13 April Politburo Member Alfred Miodowicz met with a delegation of Chilean trade unions and with a delegation of the All-Arab Trade Union Federation; attended a meeting of representatives of the OPZZ in voivodships discussing elections to the people's councils; and met with participants in the conference devoted to combating the health hazards to workers in contact with poisonous substances (14 Apr p 2); on 16 April, he attended the Czestochowa meeting of representatives of light industry enterprises (18 Apr p 2).

Politburo Member Wlodzimierz Mokrzys on an unspecified date attended a function in the DPRK Embassy in Warsaw to mark the 76th birthday of Kim il-Song (15 Apr p 2).

On 18 April Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski placed flowers at the Zabrze monument of the stakhanovite Wincenty Pstrowski who died 40 years ago (19 Apr p 2);

On 18 April, Politburo Member Marian Orzechowski received a delegation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party (19 Apr p 2).

Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended on an unspecified date a session of the Science and Education Commission discussing education (16-17 Apr p 2); on 19 April he attended a session of the PZPR Sejm Deputies' Club discussing the coming Sejm session (20 Apr, p 4).

On 14 April Politburo Member Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski attended the 2-day Warsaw conference in connection with the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (15 Apr p 1); on an unspecified date he received a visiting group of U.S. holders of the White House scholarships (20 Apr p 2).

Politburo Member Florian Siwicki on an unspecified date attended a session of the Czestochowa Voivodship Defense Committee (16-17 Apr p 2).

On 16 April Politburo Member Zofia Stepien attended the Czestochowa meeting of representatives of light industry enterprises (18 Apr p 2).

On 18 April Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski met with a delegation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party (19 Apr p 2).

CPCZ's Jakes Arrives on Official Visit

Greeted by Ceausescu

AU270713 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0658 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/4/1988—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, arrived in Bucharest on a friendly working visit to Romania, on April 27, as guest of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The arrival ceremony took place at the Otopeni Airport, where the distinguished Czechoslovak guest was welcomed by Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania.

Prague Reports Arrival

LD270733 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0700 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, arrived by air today for a friendly working visit to Romania. The guest was welcomed at Bucharest airport by President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, at whose invitation the visit is taking place, and other representatives.

LUMEA Condemns Al-Wazir 'Assasination'

AU251746 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 17/21 Apr 88 pp 8, 9

[Unsigned editorial article: "A Strongly Condemned Terrorist Act"]

[Text] Last weekend the press agencies reported that Friday night, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), deputy commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces and member of the Central Committee of the Fatah movement, was assassinated at his residence in Tunis by a commando unit of eight unidentified persons. After this reproachable act, the PLO Executive Committee and the Fatah Central Committee published a joint declaration on their determination to continue the struggle against the Israeli occupation, in spite of the assassination of the deputy general commander of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces. Khalil al-Wazir was a "true national Arab hero, an active militant of the international liberation movement, and a noble symbol of the patriotic Palestinian struggle," the declaration emphasizes. Khalil al-Wazir's assassination will further strengthen the Palestinian people's resolution to continue their struggle until the final victory, the document reads.

The telegram sent by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, strongly condemns this terrorist act and reiterates the Romanian people's solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

After this reproachable act, Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, interrupted his tour of several Gulf countries and left for Tunis, where he chaired a meeting of the PLO military command devoted to examining the situation created in the wake of the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), who was also the coordinator of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories. According to KUNA, PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat said in a message to the Palestinian people from the occupied territories that the Israeli intelligence service Mossad is responsible for Khalil al-Wazir's assassination.

The Israeli Government rejected the allegations that Khalil al-Wazir was assassinated by an Israeli commando unit, reports DPA, which cites a statement made by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir on Tel Aviv radio.

The general strike was resumed in the West Bank and Gaza, in protest over the assassination of Al-Wazir, a founding member of the Fatah movement.

According to the Tunisian press agency TAP, cited by TASS, the special commission set up to investigate the circumstances of the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir, deputy commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces, confirmed that Israel planned and executed this act. According to the agency, it has been established, among other things, that while the terrorist act was in progress, an Israeli military plane with the serial number 4/977 was flying in an international air corridor some 55 kilometers outside Tunisian airspace. The plane was jamming telecommunications in the northern sector of the Tunisian capital, where Khalil al-Wazir's home was situated and where the terrorist act was committed.

Tunisian President Zine Abidine Ben Ali condemned this act and asked his country's minister of foreign affairs to lodge a complaint against Israel with the UN Security Council.

The same condemnatory stance was adopted by Chedli Klibi, general secretary of the Arab League, Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, George Habash, general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and many figures from the Arab world and other parts of the world.

Dascalescu Greets Israel's Shamir on Holiday

AU251611 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, sent a telegram to Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister of the State of Israel on the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of that country's independence. In his cable, the Romanian premier conveys warm congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness, on behalf of the Romanian Government and on his own behalf.

IMF-IBRD Spring Session Examined

AU261737 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1635 GMT 26 Apr 88

["SCINTEIA" on the IMF-IBRF Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/4/1988—A commentary on the spring session of the IMF and IBRD [International Bank for Reconsruction and Development] working bodies—the interim committee and the development committee respectively—which was attended by finance ministers and bank governors from 151 countries, Romania included, in newspaper "SCINTEIA" of April 26 shows the talks to have focused on the particularly complex international economic situation. The debates, the newspaper points out, highlighted the realistic character of the proposals advanced by Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu for the resolution of the foreign debt problem and the overcoming of the other difficulties facing the developing countries. These proposals for the resolution of the financial problems encountered by backward countries are innovative in character and fall within Romania's global outlook on the ways of surmounting the world economic crisis, the aforesaid newspaper shows, pointing out that they are set on the thesis that the rules and mechanisms governing international economic relations should, from a qualitative viewpoint, reflect the problems of the developing countries, the imperatives of eradicating underdevelopment and bridging the wide interstate gaps.

It is Romania's outlook that the attainment of like target calls for an authentic dialogue, conducted at the UN, with the participation of all states, of the IMF and the IBRD and of other international financial institutions, to adopt measures for a global political-economic solution to the backward states' foreign debt problem, according to criteria and principles considering the development level of the respective countries, their payment capabilities, as well as the efforts they have to make to secure their own economic and social progress. Romania considers that these measures should envisage a write-off of the debts of the poorest countries, the reduction, in corresponding proportions, of the debts of the other developing countries and the rescheduling, for a longer interval, of the rest of the debts at minimal interest rates or without interest charges.

At the same time, the newspaper points out, Romania considers that the IMF and the IBRD—whose mechanisms were set more than four decades ago when the world political map differed from that of today—should fundamentally reconsider their policy and practices so as to make an active contribution to the promotion of a new, equitable and democratic financial and currency system intended to bar the road of spoliating practices and nefarious neocolonialist actions and to grant real and efficient support to the backward countries' development efforts.

The reason for the keen interest the participants took in the considerations and proposals of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the global resolution of the foreign debt problem and of the question of inordinately high interest rates, which was circulated as an official document of the Washington meetings, resides precisely in their realistic and constructive character, in the fact that they outline palpable modalities of eradicating underdevelopment and building a new world economic order, called upon to secure all states' progress, "SCINTEIA" writes in conclusion.

Vice Premier Radu Meets Afghan President

AU261758 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1706 GMT 26 Apr 88

["Exchange of Messages Between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Najibullah"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Kabul, AGERPRES, 26/April/1988—On behalf of RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu the general secretary of the CC of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, president of the Republic of Afghanistan was conveyed warm congratulations and the best wishes on the tenth anniversary of the April Revolution, and the friendly Afghan people wishes of welfare and peace.

Thanking Najibullah requested that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a warm friendly salute and the best wishes of health and personal happiness, and the Romanian people wishes of prosperity and progress.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call on Najibullah by Romania's delegation headed by Constantin Radu, member of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, who take part in the festivities in Kabul on the Afghan people's national day—the tenth anniversary of the April Revolution.

During the interview reference was made to the friendly and cooperative relations between the RCP and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, between Romania and Afghanistan, and the wish was expressed to work for their development on multiple planes, in the interests and for the benefit of the Romanian and Afghan peoples, of the cause of international peace and understanding.

Ceausescu Receives Lebanese Ba'th Party Leader

AU261858 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/04/1988—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu received on Tuesday 'Asim Qansuh, secretary-general of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party of Lebanon, who is visiting Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

Expressing special satisfaction for the possibility of meeting again the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, the guest was highly appreciative of

the Romanian foreign policy, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's activity on an international plane, of his initiatives and demarches for a political settlement of the Middle East situation and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area.

During the interview a number of current international issues were also discussed.

Reiterating the consistent position of the Romanian Communist Party, of Socialist Romania regarding the Middle East problems, President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the need for intensified efforts toward surmounting the present situation in Lebanon as soon as possible, and finding the way conducive to broad collaboration of all the political forces, and the ensurance of the Lebanese people's unity, its independence and liberty.

During the talk reference was made to the fine ties between the Romanian Communist Party and the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party of Lebanon, and joint determination was reasserted to expand and deepen them in future, in the interests of developing and strengthening the links between the two countries and peoples.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Dascalescu Receives Ghanaian Economic Minister

AU262004 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/4/1988—On April 26 Premier Constantin Dascalescu received Don Arthur, minister at the State Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Republic of Ghana, cochairman of the Joint Romanian-Ghanaian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation, the proceedings of which are held in Bucharest.

For the translation into fact of the talks and understandings covenanted during the recent Romanian-Ghanaian summit dialogue in Accra, during the interview analysis was made of new ways and possibilities to expand the economic and technical-scientific cooperation as well as trade and exchanges in other domains of activity between Romania and Ghana.

Leaders Public Appearances 17-23 Apr

AU231940 [Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 17-23 April period (sourcelines given in parentheses):

On 17 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu concluded their visit to Australia (1528 GMT 17 Apr); arrived in Hanoi (1423 GMT 17 Apr).

On 18 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu met with SRV leaders (1009 GMT 18 Apr).

On 19 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu departed Vietnam (1709 GMT 19 Apr); arrived in Mongolia (1838 GMT 19 Apr); had first talks with MPRP leader Batmonh (1903 GMT 19 Apr); attended official dinner in Ulaanbaatar (1858 GMT 19 Apr).

On 20 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu placed wreath at Ulaanbaatar heroes memorial (1435 GMT 20 Apr); visited museum (1322 GMT 20 Apr); attended friendship rally (1457 GMT 20 Apr); attended gala show (1640 20 Apr).

On 21 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu met Batmonh, ended visit to Mongolia (1807 GMT 21 Apr); returned to Bucharest (1144 GMT 21 Apr).

On 18 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, Stefan Andrei, Silviu Curticeanu, and Ioan Totu held official talks with SRV leaders in Hanoi (1414 GMT 18 Apr).

On 20 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, Stefan Andrei, Silviu Curticeanu, and Ioan Totu held official talks with Mongolian leaders in Ulaanbaatar (1330 GMT 20 Apr).

On 19 April, PEC member Emil Bobu and Deputy Prime Minister Constantin Radu presented condolences at PLO Office on al-Wazir's death (1546 GMT 19 Apr).

On 21 April, Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Ion Stanescu, minister of tourism, received FRG businessmen (1908 GMT 21 Apr).

On 18 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech at an official dinner in Hanoi (1825 GMT 18 Apr).

On 19 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu made a statement to the press before departing Hanoi (1851 GMT 19 Apr).

On 20 April, President Nicolae Ceausescu received an award at Ulaanbaatar ceremony (1141 GMT 20 Apr); on 18 April, Deputy Prime Minister Nicolae Ibanescu attended a Zimbabwe Embassy reception (1545 GMT 18 Apr).

On 18 April, Deputy Prime Minister Ion Constantinescu received British Minister of State Alan Clark (1543 GMT 18 Apr).

On 21 April, Grand National Assembly Chairman Nicolae Giosan attended Israel Embassy reception (1816 GMT 21 Apr).

EC Body Supports Moves to Resolve Crisis

LD261952 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Luxembourg, April 26 (TANJUG)—A foreign ministerial session of the European Community has called on the EC governments to, through international institutions and the strengthening of economic and financial cooperation, support Yugoslavia's efforts for resolving its economic crisis, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told a press conference here today.

Genscher, who chaired the meeting, explained that the EC governments were asked to help Yugoslavia by strengthening bilateral cooperation and through engagement in the European Community as whole.

The EC ministers informally reviewed the results of a recent visit to Yugoslavia by Claude Cheysson, head of the EC Commission for Mediterranean Policy and North-South Relations.

During the visit, the two sides exchanged views on the commission's proposal for giving Yugoslavia a short-term 400-million-dollar bridging loan, which the country would return by the end of the year, as soon as it receives funds from a stand-by arrangement with the International Monetary Fund and foreign currency income from tourism.

European Commission President Jacques Delors has proposed to the EC foreign ministers that the bridging loan be approved as a loan to Yugoslavia in ECUS (European Currency Unit), TANJUG has learned.

Council of Europe Delegation Pays Visit

LD262032 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—It is in the interests of the Council of Europe countries to broaden their relations with Yugoslavia, President of the Council's Parliamentary Assembly Louis Jung said during today's talks with President of the Yugoslav Assembly Marjan Rozic.

Jung, who heads the council's parliamentary delegation on an official visit to Yugoslavia, believes that borders between countries should less and less be in the way of economic and technological integration programs and projects in Europe.

During the meeting, the development and promotion of cooperation were stressed as being of the utmost importance to both Yugoslavia and the Council of Europe.

Rozic said that Yugoslavia's interest in European cooperation and integration was motivated by the links existing between the economies of Yugoslavia and the European countries. He recalled that three quarters of Yugoslavia's overall trade (?evolved) with European countries, while nearly all its foreign currency earnings from tourism come from Europe and over one million Yugoslavs live in Western Europe.

Rozic stated that Yugoslavia has the necessary technological and human resources for joining the economic and technological integration processes in Europe to a greater extent.

Both sides expressed interest in larger investments of foreign capital in Yugoslavia's economy. The Yugoslav side presented to the council delegation the new opportunities for this being announced as part of the forthcoming constitutional changes in Yugoslavia.

FRG's Kohl Discusses Debt With FEC's Makic

LD262258 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Bonn, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Helmut Kohl, FRG chancellor, received Radovan Makic, member of the FEC, this evening at the end of the Yugoslav official's visit to Bonn. This was during preparations for the meeting of the mixed committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries on 28 and 29 April in Belgrade.

The main topics of the conversation were reported to be Yugoslav proposals for a long-term deferment of debt toward foreign states and the securing of "fresh money" (new credits), as well as an aspect of support to the new measures of the economic policy in Yugoslavia that should be introduced on 15 May, in keeping with the agreement with the IMF.

Kohl's meeting with Makic had been convened during last week's meeting between the West German chancellor and Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, at the opening of the Hannover industrial fair. Makic also had separate meetings with Horst Teltschik, adviser for questions of international security and one of Kohl's closest assistants.

The West German chancellor was reported to have stated that, on the basis of the information at his disposal, he considered the program of measures of the economic policy in Yugoslavia to be "very good," especially because it implied market orientation, the acceptance of "free competition" of economic subjects, as well as a greater opening toward the world economy.

Kohl also expressed the readiness of Bonn to support the deferment of Yugoslav debt within the framework of forthcoming negotiations in the "Paris Club" of 16 creditors countries, showing understanding for Yugoslav proposals in connection with the securing of "fresh money."

Stanic Views Assassination of PLO Official

AU261553 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 88 p 7

[Z. Mandzuka report: "Condemnation of Every Act of Terrorism"]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 April—Answering questions at today's meeting with journalists, Aleksander Stanic, spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, paid particular attention to events after the assassination of Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], the situation in the Gulf, the conference of the Group of 77, and the implementation of the Osimo agreement.

Assassination in Tunis: Stanic said that after the Tunisian state commission published its report in which it was stated that Israel planned and carried out the assassination of PLO leadership member Abu Jihad in Tunis, Yugoslavia once more stressed the unacceptability of the continuing practice of carrying out terrorist acts and the crude violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a member state of the United Nations by whichever side. We express our solidarity with friendly and nonaligned Tunisia at a moment when this peaceable country has again become the victim of an unprovoked terrorist act.

The Gulf: Yugoslavia follows the latest deterioration of the situation in the Gulf with much concern. This situation is the result of the continued Iran-Iraq war and the strong presence of warships and other military potential of the great powers. The present latest escalation in the conflict in the Gulf region, and especially the armed confrontation between the military-naval forces of the United States and Iran, threatens the fragile security of the Gulf countries and the wider region, said Stanic, among other things.

The Group of 77: Stanic said that we assess the proceedings and results of the ministerial meeting as very favorable and this is the general appraisal of all the participants. The agreement on a global system of market preferentials between developing countries was signed by 46 countries of the total of 48 who agreed to provide concessions in mutual trade. This number of signatories surpassed all expectations. Because of this, many of the participants called this meeting historic, as it marked a turning-point in joint cooperation between developing countries and in the realization of the idea of strengthened reliance on their own collective force.

Osimo: Stanic said that the recent meeting of coordinators for the implementation of the agreements between Yugoslavia and Italy was quite normal. They discussed the prospects for the promotion of cooperation instigated by these documents. Some of the Osimo agreements have already been completely carried out, but some questions are still being discussed, while some of these agreements are such that their implementation stretches over a long period of time. This is, for example, economic cooperation on the border based on modern forms or the possibility of building an Adriatic-Danube shipping route, concluded Aleksander Stanic.

Tanzanian Prime Minister To Visit 4-7 May

LD262007 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—At the invitation of FEC President Branko Mikulic, Joseph Warioba, prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania will pay an official visit to the SFRY 4-7 May 1988.

Nicaraguan Official Arrives for Talks

LD261728 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—At the invitation of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Javier Chamorro, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua, has arrived in our country. Dzevad Mujezinovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, held talks today with Javier Chamorro in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs about relations between Yugoslavia and Nicaragua and the world's troublespots, with special emphasis on developments in Central America.

The Nicaraguan deputy minister also held a separate meeting with Kazimir Vidas, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs. Views were exchanged about the coming activities of the Nonaligned Movement, especially in the course of preparations for a ministerial meeting of the nonaligned countries' coordinating committee to be held in Havana, at which the main topic will be disarmament. Reference was also made to the UN special session on disarmament in New York, and the ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries in Cyprus.

Received by Orlandic

LD262002 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Marko Orlandic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, today received J. Chamorro, Nicaraguan deputy minister of foreign affairs, in the course of talks that proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. J. Chamorro briefed Orlandic on the activities of the Sandinist National Liberation Movement, the process of peace negotiations with the contras, and the situation in Central America.

On this occasion Marko Orlandic expressed, on behalf of the LCY leadership, the LCY's support for and solidarity with the efforts that the Nicaraguan leadership is making to safeguard Nicaragua's national independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty, as well as the Nicaraguan

people's right to decide on its own development directions without outside interference. M. Orlandic also voiced LCY support for the initiative and efforts designed to bring about lasting peace in the Central American region.

Orlandic briefed his guest on some of the most important activities that the LCY has been carrying out on both the domestic and international scene. He stressed an interest in the continued development of cooperation between the LCY and the Sandinist Front, as well as of overall relations between the two countries.

Radovic Receives Bulgarian Delegation

LD262028 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Titograd, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Dr Miljan Radovic, president of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received a delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, led by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee responsible for international affairs. The delegation is on an official visit to our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee.

During friendly and warm talks, information was exchanged on topical issues and problems facing the LCY and the BCP in the internal sphere. An exchange of opinions also took place on possibilities for advancing inter-party relations, and all other forms of cooperation between the two countries. Both sides stated that the mutual interest and need for this exist.

Also taking part in the talks were Vesna Karadzic-Perovic, member of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and president of the International Cooperation Commission of the Montenegro LC, and Bulgarian Ambassador to the SFRY Stefan Staykov. [passage omitted]

Zemljaric on Effects of New Economic Measures

LD261842 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The proposed program of measures to implement the economic policy in the period following 15 May represents a turnaround, a step toward a market economy, toward revitalizing production and exports. However, some of the proposed measures need to be improved and made more specific in order to increase the economic motivation of economic organizations to work, be self-reliant, and responsive to the market. This was stressed today at a session of the Social and Economic Relations and Economic and Technological Development Commission of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Dusan Ckrebic, who presided over the session, noted that the proposed economic policy measures, which will go into effect after 15 May, will be discussed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 28 April. This is when it is expected it will assess whether there is a need for an LCY Central Committee session in the first half of May to consider the issues in greater detail.

In his introductory report, Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president, said that the FEC had devoted a great deal of attention to the possible consequences of the proposed measures. To this end, it has engaged three institutes of economics to assess possible effects. If the experts assess that some of the moves would not yield the required results, further steps would be proposed to improve them.

Zemljaric stressed that, in regard to inflation, the proposed program provides for more resolute actions and economic measures designed to produce results in the shortest possible period. A decision was therefore made to introduce all elements of the stabilization program at the same time, Zemljaric said. He noted that the proposed measures are in line with the commitments outlined in the program of measures for reducing inflation and stabilizing the economy, this year's resolution, and the program to consolidate the country's external and internal debts. In other words, it is wrong to assume that these measures are taken exclusively at the IMF's request.

We can embark on implementing the proposed measures if by 15 May we can secure $400 to 500 million of fresh money. The key commitments of the program envision faster promotion of market criteria, reform of the economic system—work on which is proceeding at a fast pace—and changes in the structures and development orientations of our economy.

The FEC vice president reiterated his previous commitment to liberalize prices, exports, and the foreign currency market, and he dwelled in particular on the need to restrict spending. Nominal limits have been set for increasing gross personal incomes in the economic and noneconomic sectors in order to step up accumulation. However, special measures will be introduced to stimulate earnings in the organizations with an above-average accumulation rate.

If the target inflation rate remains at the predicted level of 90 to 95 percent, personal incomes should not fall by more than 0.5 percent in real terms, as predicted by this year's resolution. However, if there is any substantial increase in inflation, personal incomes are likely to fall by as much as 20 percent, Zemljaric warned. Personal incomes should not be allowed to fall below this limit except for work collectives in the process of recovery. Exceptional attention should therefore be devoted to the price policy, Zemljaric stressed.

The envisioned measures will, of course, have a negative effect on some economic trends. This, above all, concerns a fall in real personal incomes, further depreciating the dinar exchange rate, restrictive credit-monetary policy, and other things. The most critical periods will, according to Zemljaric, be the third and part of the last quarter of this year. The FEC will take strict precautions to prevent the changes from aggravating the situation in export-oriented production in order to retain the current favorable rise in exports.

Stressing the exceptional importance of securing support for the implementation of the proposed measures, Zemljaric noted, however, that the climate in society is not yet conducive to this. As an illustration, he cited the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber's recent decision to increase the number of exceptions from the law limiting increases in personal incomes. The changes were adopted despite protests from FEC members and some delegates who stressed that the decision is contrary to the adopted policy.

Zemljaric said that the FEC is working on a list of products and services whose prices will remain under some form of control after 15 May. It is also working on a special program of measures to be enforced in case there is a delay in reaching agreements with foreign creditors.

Zarko Papic, director of the Federal Social Planning Institute, warned that the implementation of the planned measures would be made more difficult because of the unfavorable economic trends at the beginning of the year. Despite some deceleration in the fall of industrial production, stagflation nevertheless continues.

Analyses conducted by the institute shows that the structure of the Yugoslav economy will not ensure an average annual growth in social product of over two or three percent, which is not enough. The proposed policy of structural changes, therefore, proceeds from the need to promote market criteria. There is also an urgent need for the country's more radical orientation to the world economy. [passage omitted]

Vojo Srzentic [president of the Economic Development and Economic Policy Federal Social Council] said that the FEC's proposed program of measures fails to provide a comprehensive and clear idea about the way out of the crisis. He stressed that the further revision and improvements in the concept of a market economy remain a key issue. In his view, the willingness of the economy and society as a whole to accept the new measures should be regarded with reservations. In addition, when giving its view of the economic trends at the beginning of this year, the federal government "cooked up" the results a bit. This means that the situation in which we embark on implementing the proposed measures is more serious than presented. [passage omitted]

The majority of those taking part in today's debate warned that the planned drastic cuts in expenditure could have serious effects as the population's buying power had been exhausted. The prevailing view was that measures were needed that would enable work organizations to improve their position on the market through hard work.

A warning was also voiced to the effect that the health service, education, and some other forms of public expenditure will seriously deteriorate. Consideration should therefore be given to more radical changes in these spheres as well as deciding what should and should not be financed by public money. Otherwise, it will not be possible to bring spending within desired bounds.

Slovenian Officials Score Federal Government

LD262058 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Ljubljana, April 26 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the socialist alliance of Slovenia today joined in the criticism of the federal government coming with growing frequency lately from this most developed of the Yugoslav constituent republics.

Reviewing a report on the government's work during the past two years, members of the leadership of this largest socio-political organization noted that the results so far hold no promise that the government would succeed in implementing the country's economic stabilization program by the end of its four-year term.

Speakers in today's debate were unanimous in negative assessment of the government's performance so far and the effects of its measures.

Doubts about the justifiability of confidence in the government in its present composition were openly expressed at the session of the Slovenian socialist alliance leadership.

Speakers also criticized the federal government for what was described as a tendency to centralize political and social life and as favouring administrative solutions.

Slovene SAWP Criticizes FEC Performance

LD262024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—A report on the work of the FEC in the past 2 years is not in any way different from the so far frequently criticized activity of our government. Nor does it, unfortunately, sound convincing about a possibility of necessary changes in the sociopolitical, and especially economic, life. This is the essence of the assessment of the report on the FEC work that was submitted at today's session of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium. [passage omitted]

A report gives an impression, said Vice President Viktor Zakelj, as if those who produced it "suffered from the egalitarian syndrome." They are irritated by everything different and that deviates from some kind of "ordered average." This is, of course, incompatible with the market and its laws. In its report the FEC, stressed Zakelj, obviously does not admit to being to blame for the present situation, which, as stated even in the report, is unfavorable. [passage omitted]

Apart from a series of other objections to the report on the work of the government and not concealing the doubt about the justification of further trust in its present structure, Zakelj objected to the fact that the FEC "strives toward the centralization of the political and social life, hinders the most talented people in their further development, advocates administrative solutions, and seeks a way out in the elimination of peripheral instead of key problems."

Apart from one item of praise that the present FEC has been more successful than the previous one, all the participants in the discussion were unanimous in their negative assessment of the FEC's 2 years' of work. However, they did not agree whether or not to instruct the delegates of the Slovene Assembly in the Federal Assembly to give a vote of confidence in the FEC. More precisely, they did not like the proposed resume of the discussion of Joze Smole, president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference.

According to him, the FEC has, in the past 2 years, carried out an inconsistent economic policy and has not fulfilled expectations. The policy has in many ways been negative with numerous consequences, especially with regard to the most influential part of the Yugoslav economy. Smole recalled numerous comments and warnings arriving from Slovenia at the expense of the FEC and possible consequences of the FEC measures. He stressed that lack of trust in this republic has been gradually growing, as well as the number of demands for vote of confidence in the FEC. Two important members of the front, the Trade Union Federation and the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation, have clearly and decidely put forth their demand for giving vote of confidence but, despite this, said Smole, I think that the delegates of the Slovene Assembly in the Federal Assembly should not be given an imperative mandate. That is, it should not be explicitly demanded that they raise the issue of vote of confidence in the FEC. Let them decide this for themselves, said Smole, after the assembly discussion on the FEC report.

This proposal is also supported by the fact that not everyone in Yugoslavia shares the same opinion about the success of the FEC and, in his view, it is much more important whether or not there are any prospects for a better economic policy that would pull this country out of the crisis. Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly, and Vlado Klemencic, member of the Slovene LC Central Committee, had similar views to Smole's and, to a degree, so did Boro Gorjan, president of the veteran organization. But it was not so with Joze Knez, vice president of the Republican Assembly; Peter Novak and Mile Setinc, members of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium; Tone Anderlic, president of the youth organization....

In Knez's opinion, "it is a matter of morality to ask the delegates to decide for themselves whether or not to insist on voting or not, when all of Slovenia shares a negative opinion about the FEC." Hence the intervention of Peter Novak and Mile Setinc and their proposal that the minutes of the discussions be submitted to the delegates of the Slovene Assembly in the Federal Chamber. It was stated at the end of the discussion that, on the basis of this, it would be clear how to decide about this.

Macedonian Leader Views Constitutional Change

LD262055 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1834 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Skopje, April 26 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists must remain the leading (?and the) motive force in society, in an action for overcoming the economic and social crisis, President of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee Presidency Jakov Lazaroski said today.

Addressing the first conference of Communists in this Yugoslav republic, Lazaroski stated that the survival of the country's self-management development, the future and development of the party depend on the successful fulfilment of tasks facing the League of Communists.

In his introductory statement Lazaroski stressed that the present economic crisis cannot be overcome without observing the market-oriented ways of economic activity and the effects of economic laws.

Emphasizing the need for change in the political system, Lazaroski said that the forthcoming constitutional changes must secure the conditions for the full observance of the law of value and other market laws. This makes it necessary to do away, also within the party, with delusions about the alleged incompatibility of commodity production and socialism, social ownership and market-oriented ways of economic activity, he said.

Novi Sad Daily Attacks Suvar's Speech

AU251741 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 88 p 5

[T. Marcinko commentary: "Against Statism in Suvar's Way"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the struggle against statism is one of the priority tasks of the LC and society in general. However, there is still no encouraging or argument-supported answers as to how one is to remove statism from the political stage and from the centers of social decisionmaking. Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY

Central Committee Presidium, presented his views on this at the latest session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia that he attended as a guest. His formula is as follows:

"The provinces within Serbia cannot play their constitutionally approved role in the Federation if they close themselves within Serbia, as well as from Serbia, in a statist manner and if they are cautious about everything coming from Serbia from the angle of protecting their autonomies. Their autonomies, of course, cannot be abolished without causing a permanent destabilization of both Serbia and Yugoslavia and nobody in his right mind would even think of doing so."

Therefore, Suvar is clear—the provinces will be denied the constitutional right to be constituent elements of the Yugoslav Federation if statism becomes stronger in them. Many people will agree with him, however nonconstitutional and anticonstitutional this sanction may be. However, what is one to do with the republics in which statist enclosure is also evident? Will they also be denied "entry to the Federation" and what federal units are they going to be added to? If this is so, then tomorrow we are going to have a federation consisting of two or three republics and the day after tomorrow a unique system in the world—a federation without federal units.

There are two questions that still have not been answered: In that case would we get a defeated or renascent statism? Did Stipe Suvar speak on his own behalf or on the behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium?

Borba Attacks Commentary

AU261810 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Statism or Nothing"

[Text] In a lengthy commentary carried in yesterday's issue, POLITIKA EKSPRES replies to Tomislav Marcinko's commentary in Novi Sad DNEVNIK. Let us remind you, Tomislav Marcinko commented on the speech Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, made at the latest plenum of the LC Central Committee of Serbia. He particularly dealt with the part about statism and the stand "that the provinces will be denied the constitutional right to be a constituent element of the Federation if statism becomes stronger in them."

"We have no intention of defending Suvar, because he can do that best himself. We only react to Marcinko's unprincipled attitude, which can do the worst harm to the very autonomy of Vojvodina as a democratic self-managing community within the SR of Serbia and to the constituent element of this self-managing component of our federalism. To be more precise, we oppose the view that Vojvodina can continue to be a part of the Federation only through statism. Stipe Suvar is also against such an idea. Therefore, he said the following: 'The provinces within Serbia cannot play their constitutionally approved role in the Federation if they close themselves off within Serbia as well as from Serbia,'" POLITIKA EKSPRES replies to the DNEVNIK commentary, among other things.

What mistake did the DNEVNIK commentator make? the author of the article in POLITIKA EKSPRES asks. Was it "overlooking" Suvar's previous sentence, which reads as follows: "Individual republics cannot be opening up to the world and at the same time closing themselves off from other republics and from Yugoslavia as a whole."

A man in panic tends to overlook many things, but this by no means gives him the right to impute things on others. True, many people have reasons to panic, because it seems that statism—at the federal, republican, provincial, and communal level—is nearing its end. Well, even if one defends his own statism, it is not at all fair to impute to Suvar the desire to abolish republics and provinces and to claim that he ignored the fact that there is statism at the federal and republican level, just as there is at the provincial one. Besides, the following question is infinitely naive: "What is one to do with the republics in which statist enclosure is also evident? Will they also be denied entry to the Federation, and what federal units are they going to be added to?"

Therefore, statism or nothing!

Is the real dilemma troubling the DNEVNIK commentator whether or not a federal unit that is not statist can exist at all?

The 13th LCY Congress resolution says that it is through the concept of freely associated labor that "we enrich our lives with new substance and values and open up the opportunities to develop our federal community and its republics and provinces as socialist self-managing communities of associated labor and of equal and free peoples and nationalities.... We must oppose enclosure, which is characteristic of and needed by a bureaucratic, dogmatic, and nationalist spirit and the main reason for many divisions in our society. Technocratic and bureaucratic consciousness and its advocates see enclosure as defense of their power, position, and career."

The only question one can ask is the following: Why have we failed to do this?

We have failed because bureaucratic-statist forces with their ideal of a federation with eight confederal units was unfortunately stronger.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Defends Andric

LD262239 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The claim by the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Federation of Socialist Youth that "Mato Andric does not have the full confidence of workers and citizens because for the last 4 years he has held top positions in Bosnia-Hercegovina when serious political and economic mistakes were made" is unfounded. This is stated in a letter sent by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency to the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Federation of Socialist Youth [SSO] republican conference on the circumstances connected to implementing the procedure for electing the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

This statement comes 1 day after Mato Andric, after criticisms made at a session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SSO republican conference, withdrew his candidacy for re-election for president of the republican presidency.

In the document, which the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency through its information department today submitted to the media, it is also stressed that citing Mato Andric's name in this context is not justified, particularly if you consider the fact that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency on two occasions received confirmation of confidence in it and that this confidence has been displayed in Mato Andric also in a specific way since his name was not mentioned in a negative light in the single discussion in party organizations during preparations for the first Bosnia-Hercegovina LC conference. When proposing Mato Andric for re-election, the Presidency was aware of and took into account these vital facts, it is stated in the document. [passage omitted]

The decision of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SSO republican conference to make its assessment public has, in many ways, made impossible a democratic dialogue, it is stated in the letter of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. Such an action is contrary to the spirit of consultation and has damaging consequences. In this way, regardless of what was intended, the focus of the issue moves from the sphere of principle to an area where, without valid arguments, the integrity of character is threatened, in this case the integrity of Mato Andric's character, the letter of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency states. [passage omitted]

Mikulic Addresses Bosnia LC Conference

AU261527 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 88 p 4

[Report on Branko Mikulic's speech at the afternoon session of the second day of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Conference in Sarajevo on 16 April]

[Text] Participating in the afternoon discussion, Branko Mikulic said that the criticisms of the existence of six or eight leagues of communists were unacceptable. The Communist Parties of Croatia and Slovenia were founded before the war. During the National Liberation War, the present republics had central committees and the provinces had provincial committees, but this did not hinder the realization of the aims of the National Liberation Struggle, and this is not a hindrance nowadays, although other things are. The problem is that party policy has not been implemented for some years and that everyone determines for himself to what extent he will or rather will not implement party policy. We all swear that we want to follow Tito's road, we say that presidents of republican and provincial committees should not be members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, but such a solution was exactly Tito's initiative. By introducing them into this organ, he wanted to make them responsible for endorsing and implementing LCY policy.

With regard to the proposals for halving the diplomatic-consular service, Branko Mikulic pointed out that the decision on this was the responsibility of other state organs. In this respect we have done as much as we could. Turning to some proposals, Branko Mikulic continued that there would be no way out of the economic crisis without a reform of the economic system, and this could not be carried out without the proposed constitutional changes. However, Mikulic said, the constant amending of the proposals should be summed up and used for later constitutional changes or even for the adoption of a new constitution. This means that what is proposed now should be adopted as soon as possible.

Two More Nominated for Croat Vice Presidencies

LD262022 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The section of the Delegates Club of the Croat Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor this afternoon used its constitutional right to expand the list of candidates for the offices of the assembly's vice presidents for the next 2-year mandate. Over 50 delegates in the Chamber of Associated Labor voted for the following new candidates: Tomislav Djordjevic from Split, and Milan Mihajlovic from Karlovac. Both men are delegates in the chamber. They will be lawful candidates in addition to Mato Crkvenac, who previously was vice-president and a delegate in the Chamber of Municipalities, and Luka Brocilo, a delegate in the Sociopolitical Chamber and member of the Croat LC delegation to the chamber, who was put forward as a candidate by the republic's SAWP nomination conference several days ago.

This procedurally unusual situation has resulted from the dissatisfaction of delegates in the Chamber of Associated Labor with the fact that the candidate list put forward by the Croat SAWP did not include candidates nominated by the Assembly's Chamber at an earlier

stage. Under Article 364 of the Croat Assembly's Rules of Procedure, the list of non-SAWP candidates can include delegates in the Assembly with the support of over 20 delegates.

Kucan Opens Slovene LC Conference

LD251148 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 22 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—How to get out of the crisis and in which direction to proceed is at the moment the key issue for both Slovene and Yugoslav society, and, in other words, for us Communists. We are aware of the fact that our concrete form of socialism is neither an objective imperative nor the only possible form. Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Presidium, said this in an introductory speech at the Slovene LC Conference that opened in Ljubljana this morning. It is characteristic for Slovenia and Slovene Communists at the moment that we are aware of what kind of socialist alternative we are dealing with in our social development. The majority of people are aware of it, as are the majority of LC members. There is no doubt about which way out of the crisis these two majorities support and what their commitments are. The fact is, however, that neither all people nor all Communists are prepared to or are organized in a way that allows each individual to carry out, in the spheres where his or her influence is the strongest, that which our socialist self-management-based social development needs in order to move toward the next stage of developed socialism.

At the conference we must concentrate our discussion on how to move away from the historic watershed where we have remained for too long. We must find a way for moving away from the existing development strategy, many of whose points have already been put into practice, and embark on urgent steps to improve the situation. The new concept of socialism, in Kucan's view, cannot be developed on what has proven to be negative. It can be built only on a positive program. This, however, means that we must abandon the old practice, typical of the entire country and now evident again, to talk constantly about what and who we are against, in addition to the old practice of inventing new enemies and opponents. Instead we must start talking about what we are for and come up with clear ideas, ambitions, and concepts that are convincing to people and the world, and start implementing these.

In the political context, according to Kucan, we have to concentrate on development issues as a basis for integration, alliance, and differentiation in society. This will give us an opportunity to stop focusing our interest on ourselves alone; to prevent society's stagnation, retrogression, and impoverishment; and to desist from mutual accusations over how to deal with increasing misery, Kucan said.

Noting that 2 years ago, at the 10th Slovene LC Congress, and in no lesser form at the 13th LCY Congress, the seriousness of the situation forced us to ask ourselves: What kind of socialism do we want. Kucan stressed that the depth of the present insurmountable crisis had, in many areas, threatened socialism in general. Therefore, he said, we must, despite pessimistic and uncertain prospects, outline a clear and realistic certainty for a better, more creative, richer, and more humane life in developed socialism, in the "Socialism that Suits People" as the heading of our theses says.

The concept of socialist self-management, in Kucan's view, is confronted with its own stagnation in its failure to be implemented. It is an unpleasant confrontation that threatens the demise of the concept. It is nothing new that stagnation and lack of prospects are the greatest threats to socialism. Socialism is not a short, conflictless period. It cannot develop as an alternative to capitalism, as its simple negation. Such an approach inevitably leads to dogmatism and to ideological and political voluntarism. The most important and crucial task facing us is to secure a dynamic and continued socialist development by consolidating self-management; enhancing efficiency and the rate of success in the economy; establishing contacts with modern technological, production, ideological, and cultural trends in the world; enhancing democracy; and humanizing personal relations; Kucan stressed. Otherwise, we shall continue to mark time and decline, thus enabling dogmatism in the traditional strategy of socialism—from which many in the world are distancing themselves at the moment—to continue to bureaucratize the LC and the state, and to devalue the material, cultural, and human achievements of our revolution.

He emphasized that the fact that it is provided for by the Constitution does not mean that the LC's role is thereby accomplished. Kucan went on to say that the LC cannot promote its role simply by agitation, while disregarding the sharp nature of the political exchange between the left and the right; nor by simply adopting conclusions and communiques; nor by discipline based on the principle of democratic centralism that accentuates the power of the leadership. The LC will not secure its leading role if it attempts to maintain its leading position in society "through violence and repression." The LC will fulfill its role as the vanguard of its class and its people only by changing the social situation and by securing the support for and trust of society's broadest masses in its direct and long-term goals of developing socialist self-management as formulated by the LC.

The LC, Kucan stresses, is not prepared to relinquish its "monopoly," that is, its leading role and its role as an advocate of working class interests, in other words, of the interests of strength and know-how, to some other monopoly or to the interests of the bureaucratic-etatist forces or forces intent on restoring a bourgeois society. It will relinquish it only in favor of socialist self-management and those factors in society most interested in

equal and democratic relations in the process of work and of income distribution—in general, in favor of those who expect the most of this society and who have the most to offer it. These are workers, creators, young people, Kucan specified. Only in this way will the LC prove that the Communists' interests are not separate from the interests of the proleteriat, the largest section of society and of the Slovene people. This, in any case, is the gist of the LC's action to ensure that the remnants of a one-party system and the state of the party is not replaced by a multiparty monopoly but by a "nonparty socialist democracy" based on self-managing pluralism of interests that surpasses classical bourgeois democracy, Milan Kucan stressed, among other things. [passage omitted]

The Socialist Alliance of Working People and the Communists' activities within it, according to Kucan, serve to protect the LC from becoming bureaucratized and factionalized, from becoming the party of the state and the state of the party. For this reason, the LC seems to be the butt of attacks from dogmatic forces on the left that devalue it and even try to reimpose Stalin's notorius view about the danger of the party becoming submerged within the popular front.

In our republic, the SAWP has been coming to the forefront, Kucan said. Its influence in public life has demonstrated that it is gradually becoming our central national political mainstay or component. It would be worthwhile to invest even more effort to develop, within the SAWP, sufficiently wide democratic scope for a creative search for solutions to the problems causing concern among the working people, for democratic solutions to social conflicts, and for preventing nationalist and chauvinistic attempts to gamble with the problems of the people and the leadership in society. It must, in particular, be receptive and sensitive to initiatives on the part of new social movements—peace movements, ecology movements, cultural, linguistic, and youth movements—and to calls for socializing the spheres of knowledge, defense, security, and of our other "state" policies. Whenever the standpoints advocated by these movements arise as some kind of partnership with the party or state organs, it signals insufficient development of the SAWP or its denigration, Milan Kucan stressed.

He went on to speak about the need for close links between the LC and all socialist and self-managing democratic forces. This is on a democratic basis within a creative dialogue that will ensure Communists' cooperation with all those—even those separated from them by ideological differences—who are interested in developing a genuine and modern form of socialism on the basis of the clearly formulated program vision of both Slovene and Yugoslav society and who, precisely for that reason, are prepared to defend it from the threats and pressures of bourgeois restoration and dogmatic-etatist offensive.

The LC must invest great efforts to prepare itself for such a role, to rid itself of certain dogmas, subjective concepts, and ideas about itself, and of bad habits and pragmatism. According to Kucan, there is ample evidence that the uniform model of socialism and the classical vision of socialism have become too restrictive for the pace of present-day development.

Kucan asserted that experience has shown the existing physiognomy and organizational structure of the LC to be, to a considerable degree, no longer up to the task of settling accounts successfully and to emerging from the crisis, as well as from the crisis of confidence. He stressed, among other things, that self-menagement, based on social property, tolerates neither the LC nor other parties as parties of power. Democratization of relations within the LC is the first condition for its role on a more long-term basis, which, given the objective position of the LC, is also the condition of a genuine democratization of society.

Milan Kucan then spoke about the relation between the minority and the majority and about the interpetation of the problem of differences and unity. An ideological view of unity that is insufficiently tolerant of everything "different" is often still the predominating one. An erroneous understanding of and implementation of unity has made socialist societies and their leading forces incapable of continual public monitoring and verification within a narrow circles of the adopted policy and social directives. Every doubt about the rectitude of decisions thereby adopted is designated as politically damaging, as factionalism, group activity, and even as counterrevolutionary activity, even when this was no longer objectively correct. The minority is conceived of as a hindrance that hampered the people's ideological unity and unity of action in the struggle for socialism, a hindrance that must therefore be eliminated or at least reduced to the least possible measure.

However, Kucan says, there can be no social progress without a dialectical relation between the minority and the majority: Otherwise, society is condemned to sterility and crisis, or launches into irresponsible and uncontrolled adventures. If the majority and minority are in accord on the general goals of social development but differ in their views on the possible ways that could lead to those goals then the polemic between the minority and the majority is not a fractional one. Nor is it a classic multiparty struggle for power. It is only an instance of people of like mind opting for and advocating a direction, program, an economic, social, cultural, scientific, and so on, policy, which secures the common social goal adopted by plebiscite.

Kucan stressed that it is evident that the problem of the minority in the LC is today no peripheral issue. He warned that overrating this problem could present a serious threat to the ideological and actional unity of the LC, while underestimating it could stifle creative initiative and responsible political action on the part of LC members. Internal relations in the LC, he said, must ensure the maximum effort and influence of Communists in the political life and orientation of the LC, and at

the same time on the LC's effectiveness. Both one and the other must ensure the principle of democratic centralism, but not interpreted in a bureaucratic way, in a way that demands, for the sake of effectiveness, the "silence of the minority." This is because this is the condition that blocks the real danger of "group activity" and factional activities.

Of course, this will not please those who regard democratic centralism more or less as follows: Adoption of an agreement, plus implementation, and that is all, thus further leaving in force the principle that the minority must, while maintaining its own opinion, implement the decisions of the majority or at least must not act against them, Kucan said. He also added that the question of a different practical attitude to the minority in the LC is a prime challenge. If the renaissance of the LC means the creative role, political culture, struggle of opinions, critical attitude, and responsibility of members, then it must guarantee conditions—including statutory ones—which will make it impossible for those Communists who have different opinions to be disqualified, censured, and punished. Renaissance demands a unity that is not the result of the leadership's monopoly of truth. It demands a conscious unity that permits differences until they are surmounted by revolutionary social practice, Kucan said.

Closely linked with the problem of the minority, or the problem of diversity of unity, Kucan believed, is the question of why the free circulation of ideas is undesirable. In particular who is it, that is, that this "competition" of ideas endangers, within the framework, of course, of a socialist program of social development defined, shall we say, on the basic principles of our democratically adopted Constitution or of the LC with its program orientations?

Milan Kucan expressed his conviction that the LC, renewed in this way, could not find anything dangerous or subversive in the emergence of alternative stands in the LC, in our society, in the programs for the development of our overall social, economic, and political system; in our development policy; or in our policies in other areas of social work, ranging from defense to cultural and social policy. On the contrary, it can only find the road that will extricate us from the crisis. It can intensify overall development and establish the kind of social relations that will allow the emergence and reassertion of alternative proposals and concepts, which is in keeping with the pluralist nature of our society. It will admit that the "democracy of alternatives" within the socialist self-management global alternative has come of age, without resuscitating the traditional bourgeois parliamentarism of political parties and their struggle for political power.

Such tendencies are present in Slovenia now. They must receive the precise answer that this is not the way to which we Communists will agree. Another road is available, and the LC of Slovenia must work for it. A dialogue is required. This is not because of the permanent polemical warfare—especially not with overt adversaries of socialism and of the communist idea that inimically and with increasingly angered tones are sending the LC to the dungheap of history as a foreign body incompatible with the petty bourgeois central European spirit of the Slovenes, but in order to resolve accumulated problems, to seek realistic steps to revive the economy, and to strengthen self-management and democratic decision-making.

A problem more fatal than growing differences in the level of economic development is the problem of the loss of technological, production, information, and civilization integration links with developed Europe and the world, and therefore also with the developing countires, said Kucan. He made the assessment that inclusion in the international division of labor is our priority development problem.

This is why, he believed, changes, indeed radical changes, are more than necessary. This is because the alternative is the developmental and economic isolation of Yugoslavia as early as the next decade, which will have very serious economic, social, and political consequences. People will not want to live in a socialism that negates itself, that is the negation of its own basic values and of development opportunities for the people, said Kucan. We know now, Kucan went on to say, that socialism in the world need not have gone the way it went. We also know that a dogmatic return to the past and visions of etatist voluntarism and administrative interventionism are not a solution.

Our sights must be trained on the vision of a rich socialism, of a socialist spirit of enterprise based on economic incentives and on efficient and responsible management of social resources by the workers, said Kucan.

There is no doubt that the development of socialism in the other direction was aided by historic and objective circumstances, and by a lack of economic and social development. However, reasons also have to be sought in the etatist concept of socialism and its economy, Kucan believes. The philosophy of the process of leveling out and of equality, even in poverty, suits this concept more than the development philosophy that requires, as its basic criteria, work motivation and evaluation of every individual and community on the results of their work. This approach and perception of socialism, said Kucan, has done the idea of socialism irreplaceable harm, and this also includes our self-management socialism. It had grave consequences for economic efficiency, relations among the people, morale, and democracy.

Against common sense, this concept was more afraid of wealth and creative spirit than of poverty, unemployment, lack of motivation, lack of competitive spirit,

inefficiency and, in the final analysis, of idleness, according to Kucan. The roads leading beyond that—into socialist self-management—are now fairly clearly defined.

According to him, we must definitely reject the logic of state socialism because it is incompatible with self-management. We also must get rid, as soon as possible, of bureaucratic and dogmatic constraints that prescribe to our people and communities in detail how they can live and work and reduce their scope of free initiative. Everything that is not forbidden should be permitted, said Kucan, or, putting it differently, the system, the state, and the party should allow the people to forge their own destiny. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 12, 13 not received]

With the clear and improved congress program and also the conference program, both as regards the democracy and the nationality question, the LC of Slovenia is not grappling only with those who "at home" [in Slovenia] are proposing the end of the LC as the leading force, but also with differing concepts in our own and Yugoslav ranks, stressed Kucan. [passage indistinct] The difference is only that the LC of Slovenia cannot simply "get out" of the clashes with different political and ideological tendencies in the LCY and in Yugoslavia in general.

Kucan stressed that only truly malicious critics can take the LC of Slovenia to task for having supported, efficiently and by way of program during over 40 years of its existence, a democratic project and program of national equality. He said that only naive Communists can claim that the LC of Slovenia has always managed to revive in time its basic orientation, that it has always avoided Stalinist traps, and that all the problems were merely the result of enemy activity.

The LC of Slovenia, said its president, does not have to prove to its opponents its consistency and orientation in a dialogue, nor does it have to silence or persecute them. The acid test of the LC, he believes, is not to be successful in ideological struggle with extremist opponents but involving the social majority in the activity proposed by the socialist alliance of progressive social forces.

In connection with Slovene "opposition" to the economic orientation of the federal Government and with constitutional changes, Kucan stressed that it was the task of the LC of Slovenia constructively to work for overcoming—more accurately, for doing away with—the model as a result of which Slovenia, as he put it, got into a position of the eighth "hindering" part of Yugoslavia, which is spoiling "the coordinated game of the collective." Irrespective of where the LC of Slovenia manages to get through with its stance, and where it does not, the LC of Slovenia must adopt a clear stance on what we in Yugoslavia are today discussing, about where we are arriving at compromises in our joint interest, and against general disagreements and where we are unswervingly and unremittingly committed to the interests of the Slovene nation and are against any compromise for the sake of compromise, which ultimately is in the interests of the whole of Yugoslavia.

Kucan asked, have we not compromised some program visions and ideas precisely because we were not ready in Yugoslavia to respect realistic specific conditions and different situations in which they had to be and could be carried out? He stressed that the LC of Slovenia can give an answer to every censure and criticism only if, especially as far as the economic policy is concerned, the economic project that is based on the 13th LCY Congress is firmly supported.

As regards the constitutional questions on the basis of one's own perception and orientation about the federation, democracy, etc, the attitude toward the differences and the specific features must be one of patience and tolerance. They should not be seen as a tragedy. However, the LC of Slovenia must be able to say how it envisions concrete activities and economic relations that throughout Yugoslavia will contribute to a way out of the crisis. The program and the congresses said that, but in practice it has been quite ambiguous for 1 and 1/2 years now exactly what is of a strategic and what is of a tactical nature.

Speaking of the wider processes of internal democratization in the LC and throughout Slovene and Yugoslav society, Kucan said that the present generation of Communists, those born since the war, are not responsible for what happened yesterday. The burden of their feeling of being "unjustly guilty of" various events in the past, of shortcuts in the judicial practice, of political differentiation, of blunders in our development and economic policy, and of various events and scandals outside our area must be lifted from them.

However, Kocan believes, they are responsible for what they are doing now, for today, and for tomorrow. Everyone among us should be concerned as to whether he can look everyone in the eye with clear conscience at a time when the Communists are receiving criticism for what we are and are not responsible for. It should be left to the historians to assess the past. This will make it possible for a balanced assessment to be made of the role of the Communist Party and of the League of Communists in the past. In addition to mistakes, a place will be found also for the achievements initiated by the Communists, which the world acknowledges as our authentic contribution to world history: national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, conflict with Stalin and establishment of new relations in the international communist movement, and self-management and nonalignment as a new type of democracy in international relations.

Kucan stressed that one must strive with all one's strength for the renewal of the LC, not for its power, monopoly, or glory, but to enable our society to take inevitable development steps without any serious

upheavals. He pointed out the necessity of the evaluation as to the extent to which the strategy of the LC, based on different thinking in many environments in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, is already based on the emancipation of the existing potentials and their creative involvement. The LC must take the initiative here, is the view expressed by Kucan. It must rally together young experts, economists, theoreticians, and people engaged in a practical activity who will draft the proposals for changes in our economic policy and economic system, said, among other things, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee, when submitting the introductory report at the conference of the Slovene LC.

Conference Discusses Economy

AU261334 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 88 p 5

[Dusa Damjanovic, Verica Rupar, and Radovan Lazarevic report on the discussion at the Slovene LC Conference in Ljubljana on 22 April: "Discussion: No Development Without a Market"]

[Text] Economic subjects prevailed in the morning's discussion, which was held in three groups. In the opinion of Mihail Kerec, negative economic trends can be reversed through the greater application of science, strengthening economic motivation, and paying attention to the market instead of administrative regulations.

Kerec outlined the aim of the LC conference in four points: the establishment of guidelines for further work (he supported the theses); an assessment of the work of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, the president, and the secretary (they all deserve full support); an agreement that responsibility should be more frequently examined in the future (differentiation is needed as against the cadres that fail to implement the decisions of the congress); and a determination of a clear precept that scientifically based solutions will be respected in economic and political life in the future.

Boris Petrovic spoke about the problems, especially the financial ones, of scientific institutes, where cadres that would be welcome in the economy are concentrated. Mitja Jenko spoke about shortcomings in investments.

"In a situation where there is no market—and there is no development without a market—opportunities open for voluntarist decisions on investment, and we know what that means for further development," Jenko said.

Branko Pogorelec drew attention to the shortcomings in the accounting system, as a result of which incorrect financial results are shown, and it is virtually impossible to conduct a proper business policy on this basis.

"If we desire a strengthening of self-management, we must have more trust in self-managers," Pogorelec repeated.

Several speakers discussed agriculture as an important development question, and warned that the LC should struggle against experimenting in agriculture and against unreasonable measures that ruin it.

Proceeding from the fact that knowledge becomes rapidly obsolescent, and that one cannot live on experience and routine, Matjaz Mulej proposed that every worker should be appointed to his post for 4 years, and that he should then, without fail, take an examination in new knowledge, and remain in his job if he passes it. Mulej believes that nobody should have the monopoly on a job.

The discussion continued in the afternoon.

Responsibility for public speech was also mentioned in the discussion. Ferto Blaznik said that many responsible officials, especially the most dogmatic ones, of whom there is no shortage in the LCY Central Committee—he mentioned the name of Stipe Suvar in this connection—take a stand that differs from the basic party premises. They obviously do not understand that they occupy their offices in the name of and for the sake of organized parts of society. Blaznik was of the opinion that the implementation of what has been agreed on must be a condition for remaining in office. In a democratic society, offices are subject to recall, not only those of individuals, but also of entire bodies.

Vlada Jancic was disturbed by the fact that some people see a way out of the crisis through a way out of socialism. He added that the Slovene party is "sandwiched" between dogmatism and nationalism, and it is still unable to find a way out of this position.

The session continues.

[The following two passages appear boxed and in bold print within the body of the item]

"The LCY Leadership Fears Transformation" [subhead]

Horst Hafner made the clearest remarks at the expense of the party leadership:

"Agreement at the top of the LCY is a necessary condition for getting out of the crisis. Even the birds are twittering about it. There is no agreement, however. The good program offered by Milka Planinc in her time failed for that reason. Uniform solutions are being sought painfully, but are impossible to find. If it is shown that we are not all in favor of the market in Yugoslavia, it should be made possible to those that are in favor, to those republics and provinces that are in favor, to

implement it in their communities. The LCY leadership has taken fright at reform from the grass roots and has fallen to its knees before the most conservative forces of society.

Guests at the Conference [subhead]

The Conference of the LC of Slovenia is also attended by Kolj Siroka, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. The Slovene Central Committee sent invitations to the conference to all LC Central Committees of the republics and the Provincial Committees of the provinces. Among those that responded were the Central Committee of Bosnia-Hercegovina (Smiljka Milojevic, member of the Presidium, is the guest), the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia (Celestin Sardelic, member of the Presidium), the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo (Ekrem Arifi, member of the Presidium, and Sonja Scepanovic, executive secretary), and the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina (the conference of the Slovene Communists is attended by Zdenko Pop, executive secretary).

Lazarovski Attends Macedonian LC Conference

LD261139 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0828 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Skopje, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The Macedonian LC Conference, devoted to the tasks of Communists in overcoming the socioeconomic crisis, started at 1000. The conference is taking place in the Yugoslav People's Army Club in Skopje and almost 500 delegates are taking part in its work.

In these exceptionally complex socioeconomic conditions, Communists have no justification to be superficial, lack self-criticism, or show opportunism, Jakov Lazarovski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, said in his report. Nor is there space for half-baked actions and commodity, or for accepting the existing situation. The survival of socialist self-managing development is at stake.

Ckrebic Addresses Conference

LD262240 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Skopje, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Before the eyes of the LC, and in large part with its tacit support, the material strength and influence of associated labor has decreased, while the role of state regulations has been strengthened, as have bureaucratic tendencies in social structures. In addition, many contradictions have arisen in society, said member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Dusan Ckrebic, taking part in the work of the Macedonian LC conference. As a change of direction in society was postponed and made too late, so it became more difficult to carry it out. The danger hung over us of getting used to the crisis, as if the crisis were really our destiny. For all of us, there is almost no dilemma as to the need for more radical changes of direction. People await with justification a resolute blow at the sources and centers that are generating, giving rise to and causing the economic and overall crisis. From the viewpoint of social and political involvement, it is not good that, as time has passed, the conviction has spread that we as a society, in undertaking certain serious measures to overcome inflation and the economic crisis, are forced to do this by an obligation to the IMF, in other words under the influence and pressure of an external factor. If we sincerely wish for a successful way out of the economic crisis, these measures are essential for us with or without the IMF, stressed Ckrebic.

No country that has been in economic crisis has recovered from it successfully without a great effort on its own part, and this is what awaits us also.

Speaking about the system for encouraging the more rapid development of the economically insufficiently developed republics and the Province of Kosovo, Ckrebic assessed that this system is in a serious crisis and that changes to it are essential. As time has passed the advantages of the existing model for encouraging the development of the undeveloped areas have diminished and overall economic conditions have worsened. Today the feeling is spreading that it is as if everyone is losing. Not infrequently the question is publicly asked: Who is exploiting whom in Yugoslavia, and who is living at whose expense? Such questions do not lead us toward reasonable answers, since they recognize in advance only their own effort and contribution, and undervalue that of others. [passage omitted]

Conference Discusses Economics

LD262253 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Skopje, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Without concrete solutions, we will not be able to regain people's confidence in the party, Cvetan Krstevski, the first participant in the discussion at the Macedonian LC conference, said. Speaking about inconsistencies in employment, Krstevski said that in the families of functionaries and other leading officials, in organizations of associated labor up to the federation, several members have jobs, while in workers' families only one member or, in some, no one is employed. There are individuals who, in addition to their regular jobs, own coffee bars or boutiques and are increasing their wealth uncontrollably. Krstevski also warned of the slow pace in introducing rationalization in the administrative sector. He cited the example of Skopje to illustrate the point: The city's population is being "looked after" by 1,200 officials, while elsewhere in the world towns of similar size employ up to 250 officials for the same purposes. [passage omitted]

Calling for specific persons to be called to account for the fact that the conclusions of the 9th congress of the Macedonian LC and the 13th LCY Congress have not been implemented, Donca Pavlovski of FAKOM

[expansion unknown] drew attention to inadequate determination and efficiency in establishing the responsibilities for embezzlement in Eksimport, Vodno, and Merkant and for bankruptcy procedures in Staklar and Alumin. Pavlovski, however, does not approve of those workers who are leaving the LC. He calls on young people to join the party and share the burden of overcoming the crisis. [passage omitted]

The birthrate in Tetovo is three times the country's average. This is directly affecting public expenditure, Abdula Ademi, delegate from Tetovo, said. The birthrate is particularly high among the Albanian, Turkish, and Romanian nationalities. The effects are many and have an obvious political background. The LC will, therefore, Ademi said, oppose vigorously any attempt to politicize the birthrate problem. This is in view of the fact that the population policy resolution adopted by Tetovo municipality has been met with differing comments—from the well-meaning ones to extremely critical and patronizing ones.

Growing Albanian nationalism and separatism is fomenting hatred among the Macedonians and Albanians. There will be no compromise with this kind of nationalism, as the Albanian nationality is determined in its desire to share its destiny with the Macedonian people, Ademi said. [passage omitted]

The 1st day of the Macedonian LC Conference ended at about 2030. Conference resumes work tomorrow at 0830.

TANJUG Discusses Safety of Nuclear Power

LD260154 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1700 GMT 25 Apr 88

[By Radmila Gabric]

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—Two years after Chernobyl, Yugoslavia still has no law on a moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants, as demanded by young Yugoslavs immediately after the accident.

The majority of Yugoslavs support the demand, not only because of doubts about the safety of nuclear power plants but also because of expert opinion that all traditional and alternative sources of energy have not been fully utilized yet.

The purchase of nuclear power stations would also increase the country's foreign debt, currently standing at over 20 billion dollars.

As it is, there is still no moratorium, but not because of any lack of sensitiveness on the part of the country's leadership to the state of public opinion, but rather owing to the complicated legal procedure.

The Assembly of Slovenia, the home republic of Yugoslavia's only atomic power plant, Krsko, has moved in the Federal Assembly for a change in the plan providing for the construction of nuclear power stations.

The Federal Assembly then asked an opinion from the government, which confirmed late last year that there was no need for building any nuclear power plants until the year 2000.

The next move is up to the Federal Assembly, which is in charge of changing national plans.

The nuclear lobby does not reconcile itself to this course of events and wants more nuclear plants built, claiming that the country's coal reserves will be used up in about ten years' time and its hydro-electric potential in five.

On the second anniversary of the Chernobyl accident, Yugoslavs are still exposed to a certain level of radiation. Scientific institutions have recently reported that the radiation, which at its peak on May 1, 1986 reached levels up to 20 times higher than before the accident, now stands at between 12 and 14 microroentgens per hour—30 to 40 per cent higher than the background radiation occurring in nature.

This level of radiation is no danger to health, but it will last long because the main contaminant, cesium 137, has a half-life of 30 years.

All imported and locally-produced food is still subject to strict controls in Yugoslavia.

Some foodstuffs, such as fruit and vegetables, are still emitting harmful radiation, but its level is only between one-fiftieth and one-sixtieth of the so-called intervention level introduced throughout the world after Chernobyl. This level has been set at 370 becquerels per litre of milk and children's food, and 600 becquerels for all other food.

The data indicate that Yugoslavs neither were, nor are now exposed to harmful radiation levels which could adversely affect their health.

However, one must not forget a message by opponents of nuclear power who say that only one thing about radioactivity is certain—it is safe only when there isn't any of it.

Daily Comments on Neum Holiday Homes

AU261133 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Apr 88 p 7

[M. Lucic report: "What Do They Want with the 'Green Plan'?"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 April—The Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE writes in today's issue that holiday homes in Neum, regardless of whether they belong to officials or

"ordinary people," have mostly been built with cheap bank loans. The authors of the article "The Truths and Mistakes of Neum" add that this is not something unique to Neum. Almost the entire Adriatic coast was developed in this way. There is as yet no reply from official circles to the question of whether the owners of the holiday homes used funds from the "green plan" ["zeleni plan"]. Vlado Malinovic, delegate to the Socio-political Chamber of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, asked 5 years ago for it to be officially stated whether the funds of the "green plan" had been spent for this. A reply has never been given. For the moment, it is unofficially claimed that there were no shenanigans as far as this finance is concerned. According to the OSLOBODJENJE article, banks were giving out cheap loans for the construction of holiday homes in Neum. At one point the Metkovic branch of the Bank of Split opened its doors wide and gave out favorable housing loans that were used to great effect.

One piece of data eloquently illustrates the cheapness of the banks' credit: With a hard currency deposit, a housing loan could be secured at an interest rate of three percent. OSLOBODJENJE writes that some holiday home owners themselves say that they each received three such loans and that these deals were legal since they had the proper documents. However, no one mentioned in these documents that they were building a holiday home, but a family dwelling, which is something to which the banks did not attach any importance. The fact that the majority did not state in their requests that they were building a holiday home but a family dwelling is a problem that has not been completely solved in the law, claims Ilija Butigana, director of Revenue Administration in Neum. According to OSLOBODJENJE, he says that he asked the republican organs for a definition of a holiday home but has not received one.

Holiday homes and villas in Neum are built with all possible concessions, cheap plots of land, favorable bank loans, and are taxed with the symbolic sum of 152,002 dinars. However, the truth is that such conditions exist throughout the whole republic. The truth is that the Neum commune derives little benefit from the tax on the holiday homes.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Every Twelfth One—Locally Owned [subhead]

According to the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE, of the 228 properties in Surduk in Tiha Luka, 19 belong to those who live and work in Neum, and the rest belong to mainly prominent businessmen and politicians. It is also interesting that the majority of these holiday homes have been built by "hometown" construction firms from Capljina, Zenica, Tuzla, Gacke, Sarajevo....

Why Is Neum Important [subhead]

Speaking to delegates at the conference of the LC Communal Organization in Banja Luka, Gojko Ubiparip, member of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said among other things:

"Why is Neum on our minds so much? There is nothing to hide, everything is aboveboard and a report on it will be presented soon. However, it is necessary to see why it and nothing else is so important to us, from Opatija to Kotor. It is necessary to see who does it and whether it is being done with good intentions. Bosnia-Hercegovina has been the stabilizer of Yugoslavia and will remain that, because this is its nature. We must protect ourselves from arbitrary attacks on people and institutions, because not everyone wishes us well."

In a VECERNJE NOVOSTI commentary, it is asked why Gojko Ubiparip himself passes judgment. This is before the official statement stating that there is nothing to hide, as everything is aboveboard. We find out from this commentary that Ubiparip is the owner of one of these villas.

Macedonian Assembly Discusses Aid to Kosovo

AU200902 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 88 p 1

[Radojica Barjaktarevic report: "One Step Forward, Two Steps in Place"]

[Text] Pristina, 11 Apr—The process of realizing the Yugoslav Program for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and encouraging the return of those who emigrated and the settlement of all those who want to live and work in this province has started. The initial results have been achieved. But there are many tasks on which nothing has been done. The Bosnian, Slovene, Macedonian, and Croatian Assemblies are only in the process of adopting operational measures from the Yugoslav Program on Kosovo.

This was concluded today in Pristina by the top federal, republican and provincial assemblies officials, and the representatives of the federal, republican, and provincial assembly organs who discussed the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. The assessment of what has been done to halt the process of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and the faster return of those who have emigrated would have been fuller had the FEC representatives also taken part in the discussion, Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly, remarked.

Unchecked Emigration [subhead]

Last year 2,828 Serbs and Montenegrins emigrated from Kosovo. This figure represents 178 families with 536 members, and 2,292 individuals. Last year 445 workers of Serb and Montenegrin nationality left Kosovo associated labor organizations.

Svetislav Dolasevic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, said that he was pleased that the representatives of the republican and provincial assemblies and the representatives of the republican and provincial assembly organs, together with Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly, Omer Kurpejovic, president of the Federal Chamber, and Drasko Popovic, president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, are meeting in Pristina and added:

"Despite a series of political, economic, and administrative measures, the emigration from Kosovo continues. In some areas it is not showing any signs of slowing down, and is in fact assuming worrying proportions. The cause of this lies mainly in the disturbed relations, the atmosphere of uncertainty, various forms of direct or indirect pressure, and the continuing hostile activities, which have taken various forms, all of which are the product of continuous counterrevolutionary activities from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism."

Rabit Redzepi, president of the Provincial Commission for Implementing the Yugoslav Program on Kosovo, said that 77 people holding administrative and judiciary posts in the province have been relieved of their posts. So far 28 judges have come to Kosovo out of the 80 that are needed to provide help to Kosovo judicial organs. Only Serbia has fulfilled its duties on this task. The Federal Secretariat for Justice was asked to send 33 more judges.

Kosovo is currently being visited by a group of 25 top judges from other socialist republics and Vojvodina who are providing expert help to Kosovo communal courts. There is plenty of work for all those who want to come and help Kosovo.

Last year Serbs and Montenegrins submitted 592 applications for the sale of their property. During February and March, there was an escalation in hostile activities from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism that was demonstrated through hostile slogans and the distribution of leaflets with the well-known content from the arsenal of the separatist movement. Recently there have been several concealed attacks on houses belonging to Serbs and Montenegrins, Rabit Redzepi said.

Kosovo associated labor organizations need 600 expert cadres of all professions who would come from all over the country to help the province's economy find a way out of the crisis.

About 12,000 Kosovo workers expressed readiness to seek employment outside Kosovo.

Obligations Not Carried Out [subhead]

Luka Brocilo, president of the SFRY Assembly Commission for the Implementation of the Yugoslav Program on Kosovo, pointed out that there is a delay in the implementations of a number of tasks contained in the program. The deadline for about 40 tasks has already passed, but they have not been carried out. Point 26 of the Program, which refers to the introduction of a federal law on the use of the languages of the peoples and nationalities, should already have been implemented. The tasks on the transformation of the fund for a faster development of undeveloped regions has not been realized either, nor have the question of investments in Kosovo and the financial consolidation of the Kosovo economy and banks been reexamined.

Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly, said that an operational program will soon be adopted in Macedonia. In Slovenia, the operational program of measures contained in the Yugoslav Program will be established only in mid May, Joze Knez, president of the Slovene Assembly said. Velislav Vuksanovic, president of the Montenegro Assembly, said that the operational program had already been adopted in Montenegro and that work is being done on its implementation.

Vojislav Vuckovic, vice president of the Croatian Assembly, said that over 40 points of the Yugoslav Program have been worked on in Croatia. The concrete realization of the obligations will start only in June when the operational program is expected to be adopted. The Bosnian Assembly has also worked on 40 points of the Yugoslav Program. In this republic, 27 judges expressed the wish to come to Kosovo, Savo Cecur, president of the Bosnian Assembly, said.

Branislav Ikonic, president of the Serbian Assembly, appealed for the more rapid formation of new communes in Kosovo. These would be populated by Serbs and Montenegrins only. The commune of Zubin Potok has shown itself to be successful. There are many issues which the Yugoslav Program has not even started to work on. At present we do not deserve a passing mark, Ikonic said.

Dobrivoje Radic, president of the Vojvodina Assembly, said that Vojvodina will fulfill its obligations to Kosovo contained in the Yugoslav Program through 20 set tasks.

The representatives of the federal, republican, and provincial assemblies and their organs will visit several Kosovo communes today and tomorrow.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Political Challenge [subhead]

About 500 working groups from the republic have spent over 3,000 days in Kosovo. Help is being provided to the internal affairs organs, the public prosecutor's office, and the judiciary. We have worked out 73 tasks and have

undertaken measures that are now being carried out. Without [political] differentiation and the elimination of opportunism, we will not be able to protect the property of Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo and ensure their personal safety and carry out the Yugoslav program. Last year there were three times as many in a difficult political situation, Dragan Nikolic, president of the Republican Commission for the Implementation of the Yugoslav Program, stressed.

Initial Results [subhead]

We will encounter new problems. We have to repay our debts, but we must not use our obligation to the IMF as an excuse for not realizing the tasks set in the Yugoslav program. The first results have been achieved, but we must not be satisfied. The least has been done in those areas where the tasks are treated as a routine matter, Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly, said. He appealed for the most responsible people in the country to show a sense of responsibility and for social control of what is being done to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Deadlines are important, but so is the quality of what is being undertaken and done.